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THE
Position of Women in the Vedic Ritual

(Thesis approved for Ph.D. Degree by the
University of London)



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Preface to the second edition

In the preface to the second edition of my work "The Position of Women in the Vedic Ritual," I have nothing more to add to what I said in the first edition.

The first edition was undertaken at a time when paper was scarce and many difficulties had to be faced due to the aftermath of the second World War. The work was well-received by the scholarly world and the first edition came to be exhausted within a few years of its publication. However, it is a matter of great regret that due to my preoccupation with other publications, the second edition could not be undertaken earlier.

It is indeed a matter of gratification that Women in Free India have made phenomenal progress in all spheres of life and culture within a short period. Hence it is but natural that a greater interest in the position of Indian Women throughout the Ages is being evinced to-day than ever before. It is indeed very striking that though there have been great upheavals—political, social, religious—in India with consequent repercussions on Women in particular, Women of India have always been respected as the Highest emblems of Divinity, Purity, Sanctity and Sublimity. To an Indian, the Mother is the highest

Guru and has always been recognized as such in all ages from the Vedic down to to-day. The first and foremost Sermon of the Guru to the pupil during the Samāvar-tan is “मातृदेवो भव : revere thy Mother as thy God.” Manu has rightly said :—

“सहस्रन्तु पितॄन् माता गौरवेणातिरिच्यते” ॥

And my humble thesis is nothing but a factual demonstration of this great and eternal doctrine of India.

Pracyavani, Vijayadasami }
Calcutta, 1956.

J. B. C.

Preface to the first edition

The important subject of the Position of Women in Vedic India captured my imagination ever since I began my Vedic studies and as soon as I got an opportunity to take up Research work, I chose this fascinating subject. This was approved by the Board of Higher Sanskrit Studies, London University, on the recommendation of the Veteran Sanskrit Scholar Dr. L. D. Barnett, Curator, Oriental Section, British Museum, under the title "The Position of Women in Vedic Age" for the M. A. Degree of the University of London and along with my promotion to the Ph. D. Degree Course in course of a year, the subject was finally selected under the heading "The Position of Women in the Vedic Ritual" for the higher degree. This was approved for the Ph. D. Degree of the London University in 1934 on the recommendation of a Board of Examiners consisting of Prof. R. L. Turner, M. A. M. C. D. Lit., Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit, London University and Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London ; Dr. H. N. Randle M. A. D. Phil (oxon), Librarian, India office Library, London and Mr. C. A. Rylands, M. A., Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, London University.

In addition to the printed Vedic works that were available both in the British Museum and India Office Library, many Mss. of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Library, Banaras Sanskrit College, etc. were used.

My continued researches into the Position of Women in Sanskrit Literature have further confirmed my conclu-

sions regarding the high position of Women in Ancient India. These researches have been published in seven volumes in my Series, "The Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature."

The present thesis is based entirely on original data collected from printed works and Mss. on various branches of Vedic Literature, viz, Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, and subsequent Literature such as the Sūtras, Epics, Purāṇas, Smṛtis, Prayogas and Paddhatis. Throughout my Thesis, I have tried to remove many misconceptions regarding the position of women during the Vedic Age, but in interpreting the texts and drawing conclusions from them, I have all along strictly adhered to the letter and spirit of the original Texts and their authoritative commentaries.

Almost the whole of this work was published in the form of articles in well-known Research Journals, such as the Indian Historical Quarterly, New Indian Antiquary, etc. during the years 1939-1941. On account of this and my other important undertakings, such as the Contributions of Muslims to Sanskrit Literature, Contributions of Bengal to Smṛti Literature, Sanskrit Dūtakavya Literature, etc., the publication of the present work in book form was not immediately undertaken. Later on, the publication of this work was held up due to the World War. II.

Presidency College, }
Calcutta }
1945 }

J. B. C.

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* Mātṛdatta in his commentary on the Hiraṇkeśi-grhya-sūtra, Kīrste's edition, p. 156, says,

“बौद्धानि पलाशपर्णानि । तेषां विहारो विहरणं नानादेशेषु स्थापनं बौद्धविहारः
कर्म नाम ।.....अन्गो बौद्धानि विकीर्यन्ते यत्न स बौद्धविहार इति ॥”

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The Position of Women in the Vedic Ritual

CHAPTER I

THE DAUGHTER IN THE VEDIC RITUAL

The civilization of a country is best understood by a thorough study of the Position of its Women. The woman in the various phases of her life as Daughter, Wife and Mother not only protects and invigorates the man to the best of her power but safeguards his interests even at her own cost. As soon as the manfolk begins to misjudge this latter magnanimity of woman as her weakness, a nation begins to sink slowly into the depth of degradation and misery. In the long history of Indian Civilization, our society has faced innumerable odds—constant invasion from outside, intermixture of heterogenous faiths and thoughts, ruthless persecution and so on—and certainly, changes there have been many with the consequence that, social conditions changed a good deal from period to period. Even then, ancient Indian Literature exhibits a uniform spirit of reverence for womanhood and Vedic Religion does not deny any right to women, not in the least the religious. Hindu Religion upholds the Vedas as the Highest authority and the view-points of the Smṛtis and Purāṇas contradicting

those of the Vedas are simply to be ignored. This just attitude of the Hindu Society has saved it at all critical times. True there have been ups and downs in the position of Hindu Women, but they have never been shorn of their inherent goodness and greatness on account of oppression or excessive depression. Along with national regeneration from period to period, the liberties and possessions of women appear to vary and that is only natural; but even then, there is the constant attitude of very deep respect for women ingrained in Indian mind which is the direct outcome of the teachings of Vedic Religion. We must analyse this thoroughly in order that we may have a thorough grasp of the Position of women in Ancient and Modern India and this we shall do in the following sections of the work.

The Daughter is affection incarnate and it is as such that Vedic Literature depicts her. She has never been denied the rights her brother enjoys. A critical analysis will reveal that in the Vedic Ritual the Daughter is just as important as the son, if not more; as a matter of fact, in many places it would appear as though in ancient India the Daughter was more covetable for the parents than the son. Certain misconceptions took the upper hand in some parts of India during Mediaeval ages owing to the then degenerate conditions; the teachings of the Veda were really ignored though apparently the commentators intended to uphold them; nation as a whole was in a tottering state and no doubt, women also had to face all sorts of ordeals. Time

is now ripe when Indians should look back to their glorious Vedic Age and allow the girls to enjoy the same Vedic Rights as our Holy Scriptures declare.

The Saṃskāras must all be performed for the Daughter as well as the Son and no discrimination ought to be made between them. The pseudo-Vedic attempts of a few scholars in Mediaeval India to prove the Daughter an unwelcome member of the family must be discarded as absolutely unvedic, unholy and suicidal as the early Vedic Ritual Literature uncompromisingly compels just the reverse conclusion. In subsequent ages, women have been denied the honour of the Pūṃsavana and the privilege and dignity of the upanayana in particular. But this attitude is absolutely unvedic.

*The Significance of the Vedic Rite Pūṃsavana*¹. The Pūṃsavana is an important Vedic rite, generally belived to be performed in order to have male children only.² But there is evidence to show that the pūṃsavana is a rite performed with the object of averting any evil to the progeny and of having either a male or a female child as desired. According to the majority of Ritual authorities² this rite is

1. This section was published in Indian Historical Quaterly, Vol. XIV, 1931, pp. 831—835. 2. Cf. Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit—English Dictionary, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1899, p. 630, Column 2. 2. Cf. Pāraskaragṛhya-sūtra, (henceforth abbreviated as PārGS.) Bombay ed., 1918, p. 145 f., all commentators stick to the same principle; Saṃskāra-paddhati, Poona, 1924, p. 51, line 3; Baudhāyana-grhya-sūtra, (henceforth abbreviated as Baudh- GS.) Mysore University ed., p. 29.

to be performed on each occasion of the wife's pregnancy so that whenever the wife and the husband wish to have a daughter, they may use what is technically known as Ūha i.e. an alteration in the gender or other things as necessary in the sacred formulas, etc., just as they have the option to choose—if they want sons—whether they would have an heroic son or otherwise.¹ Both the Sīmantonnayana (the rite of parting the hair) and the Pūṃsavana are really Garbha-saṃskāras, performed for removing the sin that might bring any evil to the embryo.² The word 'Pūṃs' in the name of 'Pūṃsavana' refers to both male and female and does not at all debar the use of 'Ūha' whenever necessary.

That the first part 'Pūṃs' of the compound 'Pūṃsavana' does not stand for the male child alone is corroborated by the fact that nowhere in the Gṛhya-sūtras do the Sūtra-kāras intend to exclude daughters by the use of words in the masculine gender. The usual method is to speak about both males and females by the use of the masculine gender only; when the Sūtra-kāras have to say something particular about females, only then do they use specifically the feminine gender. Thus when Laugākṣi in the Kāṭhaka-gṛhya-sūtra says, पुत्रे जाते नाम धीयते he does not mean to say that when a daughter is born, it is to be otherwise. In commenting

1. PārGS., op. cit., p. 144, lines 7-8; for the Ūha used in this connection, see Saṃskāra-rantamālā, (henceforth abbreviated as Saṃs RM.) Poona, 1899, p. 813, II. 24-25.

2. Cf. PārGS., op. cit., p. 144, II. 9, 16, 29, etc. Saṃskāra-paddhati, op. cit., p. 51, I. 20; Saṃs RM., p. 813, II. 21f.

upon the sūtra, Ādityadarśana¹ expressly says that the daughter, too, should have the naming ceremony. In the Jātakarman section of the Āśvalāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra, an aphorism² makes the provision that when a 'Kumāra' is born, the child is to be treated with water mixed with gold. In commenting upon the sūtra, Haradatta³ says that herein provision is made for a 'Kumārī' as well, as the gender is not intended to be stressed, 'līṅgasya avivakṣitatvāt.' Similarly is to be explained जातं कुमारमभिमन्त्रयते in the Baudh GS.⁴ It will be seen that at the end of the section on Jātakarman, Baudhāyana points out the name given to a daughter should consist of an odd number of syllables⁵ and makes the provision of blessing the child अमुष्मै स्वस्तीति । By the use of the masculine gender in "amuṣmai," Baudhāyana certainly does not mean that "svasti," i.e., benediction should not be uttered in case of the birth of a daughter of whom he speaks in the preceding aphorism. What he really

1. Op. cit., p. 137. 2. Trivandrum ed., 1923, p. 60. II, 17-18.

3. Āśvalāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra, (henceforth abbreviated as ĀśvGS.) op. cit., p. 61, II. 1-2 "Līṅgasya avivakṣitatvāt kumāryā api prāpnoti." For his argument, see II. 2f. For similar examples where the gender is not intended to designate males only. cf. statements like svarga-kāmo yajeta : yaḥ svargakāmaḥ sa yajeta : one who, male or female, aspires to go to heaven, should sacrifice; see in this connection the Jaiminiya-mīmāṃsā-darśana. 6-1-7; see also Nyāya-mālā-vistara on the same 6-1-6 ff.; Karkācārya on the Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra, (abbreviated as KātSS.) 1-1-7, Chowkhamba ed, 1908, p. 5; Yājñikadeva on the KātSS., Berlin 1157, p. 8.

4. Op. cit., II. 1, 2, p. 33.

5. Op. cit., p. 35, I 17, अयुगचरं कुमार्याः ।

does is to revert to his general way of statement, uses the masculine gender to mean both males and females and concludes the section by prescribing the rule that the jāta-karman rites should be finished with the utterance of benediction for the child (boy or girl). The object (saṃkalpa) of the rite as stated in the Prayogas also shows that the word 'Pūṃs' is not restricted to males alone. The rite is meant for removing the sin that may bring evil to the progeny. It is, most probably, owing to this fact that MānavaGS. omits the rite altogether, as it considers the saṃskāra called Sīmantonayana, i. e., parting of the hair, quite sufficient for averting any evil to the embryo caused by the father or mother or both. That a girl should pound a herb for use during the Pūṃsavana ceremony¹ also indicates that the sūtrakāras raise no objection to the birth of others of her sex, nay, more—they introduce a girl in particular, not a boy, because as shown by the analysis of the rites performed by, and for, the daughter—the daughter is for the parents the sum-total of purity, tenderness, affection, devotion and bliss.² If the meaning of the word 'Pūṃs' be limited to males only and the Pūṃsavana be a rite that must be performed, there remains no rite to be performed for the birth of a

1. Bhārdvāja-gr̥hya-sūtra, (abbreviated as BhārGS.) Solomon's ed., London, 1913, I, 22, p. 22. अथ पुंसवनं वृत्तये मासि...न्यग्रौषावरो-
धाह्वया नवज्ञातया कुमार्या दृष्टतृप्तेषु पेषयित्वा, etc.

2. It must be remembered that the introduction of a person or thing—a person in particular—in Vedic rituals is significant.

daughter. But the fact is that the birth of a daughter is most welcome. Parents perform Kāmya-śrāddhas on the second day of the moon in the hope of having a daughter.¹ Desirous of having a daughter, the husband touches all the fingers of the wife except the thumb during the marriage ceremony.² Longing for a daughter the bridegroom shows the bride after she has reached her new home³ the Dhruva and other constellations.⁴ The parents deem it a favour of god if they can have sons as well as daughters by their side during the performance of sacrifices.⁵ The R̥g-veda praises the father of many daughters.⁶ The daughter claims her support from parents not for nothing, but for her devotion

1. Gobhila-pariśiṣṭa śrāddha-kalpa, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1909, p. 186; Pār. G. S., op. cit., p. 538, I, 21, commentary of Gadādhara I.I.

2. ĀśvGS. Trivandrum ed., 193, I, 5, 3, p. 23, ll. II-125 तिष्ठन् प्रबड्मुखः प्राड्मुख्या आसीनाया गभ्णामि ते सौमगत्वाय हस्तमित्यड्मुखमेव गृह्णीयाद्यदि कामयेत पुमांस एव मे पुत्रा जायेरन्निति ; अङ्गुलीरेव स्त्रीकामः ; रोमान्ते हस्तं साङ्गुष्ठसुभयकामः । Commentary : पुत्रशब्दस्य स्त्रापत्येऽपि दर्शनात् पुमांस इत्युक्तम् । स्त्रीशब्दो दुहितृवाचि पुत्रसन्निधानात् । रोमान्ते रोमवतः प्रदेशादुपरि । उभयकामः पुत्रकामः स्त्रीकामश्च । Āpastamba-gr̥hya-sūtra, (henceforth abbreviated as ĀpGS.), Madras, 1893, VI, 12. यदि कामयेत स्त्रीरेव जनयेयमित्यङ्गुलीरेव गृह्णीयात् । See also commentary.

3. This reflects a great anxiety for having daughters.

4. Kāthaka-gr̥hya-sūtra, (abbreviated Kāth GS.), op. cit., XXV, 45, p. 114, ll. 1-2, जीवन्तीं ध्रुवं स्वस्त्रात्रेयं दर्शयत्यन्त्यतोच्च । Devapāla's comm. जीवन्तीं कन्यामिच्छन् ध्रुवादिकं दर्शयेत् । 5. R̥g-veda, VIII, 31, 8. पुत्रिणा ता कुमारिणा विश्वमायुर्व्यस्तुतः । उभा हिरण्यपेक्षसा । 6 VI, 75, 5. वक्ष्णीनां पिता बहुरस्य पुत्रश्चिश्वा क्रणोति समनावगद्य । इषुषिः सक्ताः पुतनाश्च सर्वाः पृष्ठे निनद्धो जयति प्रसूतः ॥

to them.¹ They care for her as much as they do for their son; or it may be said—even more, as the father is found to worship the daughter (kumārī) as an emblem of Virginity, as an emblem of Purity, of Tenderness, Devotion, and what not.² Just as the Māṛkā-pūjā is to take place at the beginning of all Vedic rituals, the Kumārī-pūjā is recommended to be performed at the end of all; and this latter worship, the Daughter-Worship, is impossible in the absence of a daughter as she is to be bodily present. The father wraps her up with new garments, entertains her with delicious dishes and walks round her. From her first year onwards, she is worshipped as different deities; if she is one year old, as Sandhyā; if two, Sarasvatī; and so on. Thus as she grows, the parents find in her different manifestations of the Supreme Soul,—blessing them in every possible way. The daughter is indeed the embodiment of all blessings for the parents and the family. In Sanskrit literature the word Puṃs does not exclusively mean males alone but is also found used in the sense of human beings in general. Thus, when Varāhamihira³ says the earth has veins just as the

1 Rg-veda II. 17, 7. अमाज्रिव पित्रोः सचा सती समानादा सदस्वामिभ्ये भगम् । ऋषि प्रकेतस्य माया भरे दृष्टि भागं तन्वो येन मामहः ॥ Sāyaṇa in his commentary says:—पित्रोः सचा मातापितृभ्यां सह भवन्ती तयोः अश्रुषणपरा... । 2. Tri-vedīya-kriyā-kāṇḍa-paddhati, Calcutta. 1887, p. 160. “.....‘कुमारीपूजनमहं करिष्ये इति संकल्प्य कुमारीमानौय.....पूजयेत् ॥”

3. Vizianagram Sanskrit Series ed., part II, 53, 1, also 85, 5. See also Bhāgavata-purāṇa, 8, 24, 41 for a similar use.

bodies of 'Pums' have, the word Pums conveys necessarily the sense of human beings, as women too have veins in their bodies. Hemacandra in his *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*¹ gives "martya: one who is mortal," "bhū-sprś:" one who touches (is born on) the earth," etc. as the synonyms of Pums. All these necessarily include the sense of women as well. In commenting upon a couplet quoted in the *Bhāmatī* which includes the word Pums in the genitive plural, Bhaṭṭa Gopīnātha in his treatise *Upodghāta*² says the word Pums means males as well as females. The *Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra*³ too uses Pums in the same sense.

Thus the usual method of the *Sūtra-kāras* of including feminine in the masculine gender, the procedure of the rite itself, the importance of a daughter emphatically borne out by the whole range of Sanskrit literature, instances where the word Pums is found used in the sense of both males and females—all lead to the conclusion that the purpose of the Pumsavana is to avert any evil to the progeny and to have any child—male or female—as the parents desire.

*The Initiation of Women.*⁴ There is a general belief

1. Boehtlingk's ed., St. Petersburg, 1147.

2. निवृत्तिर्वा प्रवृत्तिर्वा नित्येन कृतकेन वा । पुंसां येनोपदिश्यते तच्छास्त्रमभिधीयते । *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*, vol. 94, Poona 1924, p. 18. For grammatical support of our interpretation: Pāṇini, 1-2. 66-67 *Bāla-manoramā*, Trichinopoly, (1110-22). p. 608, ll. 3f., *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, 939-33.

3. Bib. Indica ed., 1874, p. 203, sūtras 3, 2, 12ff.

4. This whole section was pub. in *IHQ*. March, 1939.

that women are not entitled to be initiated for Vedic studies. Such a belief is absolutely wrong. The *Gr̥hya Sūtras* say in connection with the initiation ceremony of the *Brāhmaṇa* “अष्टमवर्षे ब्राह्मणमुपनयेत्”¹ or “सप्तमवर्षे ब्राह्मणस्योपनयनम्”² or “गर्भाष्टमे ब्राह्मणमुपनयेत्”³ or exactly similar things⁴ meaning that the *Brāhmaṇa* should be initiated in the 7th or 8th year after he was conceived or born; they make similar rules for the *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* too—only extending the age-limit for them. Here by *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* and *Vaiśya* the *Sūtra-kāras* mean that both the boy and the girl of these castes are to be initiated. As in the case of *स्वर्गकामः*⁵ in “स्वर्गकामो यजेत”, here also the gender is not intended to designate the Masculine alone. By a rule like this “ब्राह्मणो न हन्तव्यः i.e. the *Brāhmaṇa* should not be murdered” it is meant that the *ब्राह्मणी* also should not be murdered. Similarly by saying “मरणधर्मी मानवः or man is mortal”, we mean that the woman is also mortal.

1. *AsvGS.* I, 19, 1, p. 64, Bom. ed.

2. *KathGS.* 41, 1, p. 159.

3. *VārGS.* V, p.

4. *GobhGS.* II, 10; *Khādīra*, II, 5, 1, p. 70; *Gobhila-gr̥hya-karmaprakāśikā*, p. 84; *JaimGS.*, I, 1, 1; *ApGS.* 10, 1; the *Mān GS.* mentions no limit but begins ‘उपनयनप्रभृति व्रतचारैः One should observe vows from initiation.’ *ParGS.* 11, 2, 1, p. 196 Bom. ed., *SanGS.* 1, p. 13. Benares edn. p. 47. Compare also *ĀśvGK.* 16, 1, p. 275; *Śaunaka-kārikā*, f. 31a; *Āśv. Yā. Pad.*, India Office Ms. Bühler 15, fol. 24b; *Reṇukārya* f. 12b; *Baudhāyana-gr̥hya-paddhati*, f. 74a.

5. See *KatSS.* I, 1, 7 “स्त्री चाविशेषात्” and the commentaries of *कर्काचार्य* and *याज्ञिकदेव* on it; pp. 5 & 8 of the *Chowkhamba* ed., and *Weber’s* ed., respectively.

Hārīta¹ says women are of two types : those who speak about Brahman and those who soon become wives (i.e. those who do not grow old in their parents' house). Of them, the first type has (the right to) initiation, establishment of fire, Vedic studies, and observance of begging alms in their own houses; the second is initiated and (soon after) married. Yama² as quoted in the Kūrmapurāṇa, says that in ancient times the tying of the girdle is prescribed for girls; so also the teaching of the Vedas, and the utterance of the Sāvitrī. Nobody except her father, uncle or brother should teach her. The vow of begging alms is prescribed for her within (the limit of) her house. She should dispense with the deer skin, the bark and the wearing of matted locks. Here Yama seems to refer to the existence of the custom not only in ancient times, but also in his own days, the construction being पुराकल्पे (यथैष्यते) तथा (अधुनाऽपि) इष्यते. The word तथा is significantly put by Yama by way of a comparison between the old time and his own time. So he makes the rule for his own time that nobody other than the girl's father, uncle or brother should teach her, she should beg in her house only (and not elsewhere) and she should not wear deer-skin,

1. द्वि-विधाः स्त्रियो ब्रह्मवादिन्यः सदीवध्वश्च । तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनीनामुपनयनमग्नौत्थनं वेदाध्ययनं स्व-गृहे भिक्षाचर्या चेति ; *Samskāra-ratna-mālā*, Poona, 1899, vol. I, p. 165, 1. 6-7.

2. पुरा-कल्पे कुमारौणा मौञ्जी-वन्धनमिष्यते । अथापनञ्च वेदानां सावित्रीवाचनन्त्या ॥ पिता पितृव्यो भ्राता वा नैनामध्यापयेत् परः । स्व-गृहे चैव कन्याया भैक्ष-चर्यां विधीयते ॥ वर्जयेद्दजिनक्षोरं जटाधारश्चैव च ॥

bark and matted locks. If Yama had intended to say that, unlike in ancient times in his own time the girl should not be initiated, he would have surely said something like this: —पुरा-कल्पे कुसारीणां भोजो-बन्धमिष्यते । इह कल्पे तासामेवं न कुर्यान्मतिमान् क्वचित् ॥ As he continues with a series of verbs, all in the present tense—one in *Laç* and two in *Liñ*, it is only reasonable to think that he prescribes the rules for his own days as was the case in ancient times too.

Without being initiated ceremonially, nobody is entitled to utter holy mantras. But the woman is found to utter sacred formulas in various sacrifices, *gṛhya* as well as *śrauta*. In the *Sākamedha*, the third four-monthly sacrifice, the girl uses the *Tryambaka Mantra*.¹ *Mahīdhara*² in his commentary *Veda-dīpa* says the unmarried girls of the sacrificer should walk round the fire three times along with the other males, the sons of the sacrificer and others while uttering the *Tryambaka Mantra* for *Tryambaka*'s blessing. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*³ the priests and the sacrificer go round the altar thrice from right to left—smiting the left thigh; but the maidens go from left to right—smiting the right thigh. While doing so, the maidens utter the formula: “We worship *Tryambaka*, the fragrant bestower of husbands. Even as a gourd is severed from its stem, so

1. *Vāṅsamh* III, 6ob, “ब्रह्मकं यजामहे सुगन्धिं पतिवेदनम् । उर्वार-
कमिव बन्धनादितो मुक्षीय माऽमुतः” ॥

2. P. 92, Weber's edition of the *White Yajurveda*.

3. II, 6. 2, 13f. p. 197, Weber's edition; for *Sāyana*, see op. cit., p. 218.

may I be severed from this world, not from thence.”¹ Kātyāyana² says “कुमार्यश्चोत्तरेण उभयत्र पतिकामा भगकामा वा : the unmarried girls (of the sacrificer) too (should go round the fire), the latter³ while uttering part of the mantra, in both the directions (पितृवद्देववच्च परिक्रमणे : in going round both in the direction of the manes i. e. the left, and in the direction of the gods, i. e., the right) either with the object of having husbands or fortune.” Yājñikadeva⁴ in the Paddhati says, “वचनात् कुमार्या अपि मन्त्रपाठ : i. e. the maiden too is to utter the sacred formula as it is so prescribed.” Satyāṣāḍha⁵ also says that if the daughter of the sacrificer longs for marriage, she should take the reverse course (to the one taken by the males) along with the utterance of the Tryambaka formula.⁶

In the Varuṇa-praghāṣas, the second four-monthly sacrifice, after Haviṣ is placed on the north and south altars, the Pratiprasthātṛ—while leading the wife to the fire for the Karambha-pātra oblation—asks her if she has any lover or lovers. After her declaration⁷ she utters the for-

1. They want to be severed from this world i.e. their father's house and be permanent in their husbands' families. Cf. Mahidhara also. They like to leave their father's gotra as well.

2. Śrauta-sūtra, 5, 10, 17, Weber's ed., p. 361.

3. The former one i. e., Vāj Sam., III, 60 a, being used by the males. 4. P. 536, Weber's ed., of W. YV. 5. Śrauta-sūtra, 5, 5, p. 489, vol. II. 6. The B. YV. schools have a different reading उर्वारकमिव वन्यनान् मृत्वीसु क्षीय सा प्रतेः ।

7. For details and references, see our section on “The Wife in

mula¹ "प्रवासिनो हवामहे मरुतः etc.: we invoke the Maruts, the voracious consumers," etc.² Then either the wife or the wife and husband both lift up the Karambha vessels on the winnowing baskets, place them on the head and offer oblations in the Dakṣiṇāgni with the formula यद्ग्रामे etc.; which in the village, etc."³ On her way back, the wife recites the formula "अक्रं कर्म etc.: having performed the work etc."⁴

In the agniṣṭoma too, the wife, entering by the south door, anoints the axles of the Soma-cart with the remnant of the clarified butter left after the Sāvitrī-homa along with the utterance of the formula, "देव भृतौ etc."⁵

There are several such instances where the wife or wives use sacred formulas. The Purāṇas and the Smṛtis as well furnish examples as to the right of women to utter the holy mantras. The Skanda-purāṇa⁶ says that the wife should sacrifice with the sacred formulas in the rituals in accordance with the regulations; so, in the funeral rite too, she, according to the sacred law, is entitled to utter the sacred mantras.

the Cāturmāsya Sacrifice" below under "The Wife in the Vedic Ritual," 1. Vaj-Samh., III, 44; for Mahidhara see Webers' ed., vol. I, p. 83; Karka, op. cit., vol. III, p. 473, on KatSS. 5, 5, 10.

2. See also other YVSs. 3. Vaj-Samh., III, 45. 4. Op. cit., 47.

5. Vaj-Samh., 5, 17, The mantra has, however, variant readings in the different Samhitās and Sūtras. Cf. Mait-Samhitā 1, 2, 9; Kat-Samh., II, 10; Śat-Brā, III 5, 3, 13-14; MānSS., 2, 2, 2, 15; KatSS., 8, 3, 32.

6. Ed., by Pañcānana Tarkaratna, Calcutta, 1911, vol. IV, p. 2326; also quoted in the श्राद्धसूत्र p. 22.

The Kālādarśa, as quoted in the Śrāddha-mayūkha¹ of Nilakaṇṭha Mīmāṃsaka Bhaṭṭa, quotes the following lines from the same source to show that women are not entitled to utter the sacred formulas in the funeral and śrāddha rites: सर्वाभावे स्त्रियः कुर्युः स्वभर्तृणाममन्त्रकम् : in the absence of all others, the स्त्रियः i.e. the women should offer to the bhartṛs i.e. the maintainers without mantras.” Unfortunately we cannot trace the line in the Calcutta edition of the Skandapurāṇa. The line, however, occurs in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.² We read herein like this:—a सर्वाभावे स्त्रियः कुर्युः स्वभर्तृणाममन्त्रकम् । b तदभावे च नृपतिः कारयेत् स्वकुटुम्बिनाम् ॥ c तज्जातीयैर्नरैः सम्यग् दाहाद्याः सकृताः क्रियाः । and preceding these lines are—i पात-लये प्रेत-पातं अर्षच्चैव प्रसेचयेत् । ये समाना इति जपन् पूर्ववच्छेषमाचरेत् ॥ j स्त्रीणामप्येवमेवैतदेकोद्दिष्टमुदाहृतम् । मृताहर्नि यथान्यायं नृणां यद्वदिहोदितम् ॥ But Raghunandana³ takes the stanzas in the following order; a. b. i. j. to run concurrently and argues that “apy evam” in j. means “amantrakam” as in a. and so “स्त्रीणां मन्त्रनिषेधोऽपि तत्सम्प्रदानकश्चाद् एवावगम्यते: the prohibition (of the use) of mantra applies to those cases only where the women offer the Śrāddha”. We cannot find out in any of the printed editions or manuscripts available in the India Office Library the order followed by Raghunandana. Moreover, the word “स्त्रियः” in a above does not

1. Ed., by Gharpure in the Collection of Hindu Law Books, vol. XVIII, p. 22. 1, 24-25.

2. Dr. K. M. Banerjee's ed. in the Bib. Ind., p. 189.

3. आह-तत्त्व, p. 508, Calcutta, 1909-10.

mean "Wife", but any and every woman maintained by the deceased. In the Śrāddha-viveka, after enumerating the long list of those who are entitled to perform the Śrāddhas, the author says "तदभावे यथाकथञ्चित् परिगृहीताः स्त्रियः—these failing, any and every woman taken hold of by any means would do." These are the women meant in line *a* above and not the wife. The claim of the wife (Patnī) to perform the funeral and Śrāddha for her husband follows immediately after the son, i.e. the son failing, the wife is to do so. Saṅkha, Kātyāyana, Śrāddha-viveka, Śrāddha-mayūkha, Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī and all other authorities are unanimous on the point. So by "स्त्रियः" in "सर्वाभावे स्त्रियः कुर्युः", the wife can by no means be meant. The words "apy evam" in line *j* in the order we find mean that the mantras "ये समानाः", etc. are to be uttered and that the rites following should be the same as mentioned before. The Kalpa-taru says that "स्त्रीणामप्येवम्" etc. means: "यादृशेन सम्बन्धेन पितृव्यत्वादिना पुरुषाणामेकादशाहादि श्राद्धं, तादृशेन च सम्बन्धेन स्त्रीणामेतत् कर्तव्यमिति"। Here it is evident that the women also utter the mantra in the Śrāddha. After having said that the Ekoddiṣṭa and Sapindīkaraṇa should be offered with mantras, Yājñavalkya¹ says "This Sapindīkaraṇa as well as Ekoddiṣṭa should be offered to the woman also". Yājñavalkya has suggested no distinction whatsoever. The Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa²

1. UnaSamh, ed., by Pañcānana Tarkaratna, Calcutta 1903, p. 161, l. II. śl. 254. 2. मातुः सपिण्डीकरणं पितामह्या सहोदितं । यदीक्षे नैव कल्पेन etc.

also says that the Sapiṇḍikaraṇa of the mother is said to be observed with the grandmother (on the father's side) in accordance with the rites as mentioned. Here also no distinction whatsoever is suggested. The Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī¹ also-comments on the couplet स्त्रीणाममन्त्रकं श्राद्धम् etc. thus: स्त्रीणाममन्त्रकं श्राद्धमिति वचनात् स्त्रीणां सकल-श्राद्ध एव सकल-मन्त्रपाठो नास्तीति वदन्ति । तन्मन्दं वचनस्यामूलत्वात् सकलसंग्रहेष्वदृष्टत्वात् । etc. Here he thinks the couplet "Strīṇām amantrakam" śrāddham," etc. is baseless (an interpolation) as it is not found in all the Saṃgrahas and the view that the woman is not entitled to perform the Śrāddha with mantras is not tenable. The Brahma-purāṇa² also says distinctly that women should offer the Śrāddha with mantras. Śaṅkha³ says that the daughter too after her saṃskāra should, like the boy, observe the Aśauca, perform the funeral rite, offer Piṇḍas and celebrate the Ekoddiṣṭa for her father. Here too no distinction has been suggested and accordingly the mantras are to be uttered by the daughter too. The reason why the "स्त्रियः" in line *a* above who are really "यथाकथञ्चित् परिगृहीताः स्त्रियः" in the language of the Śrāddha-viveka-kāra should not utter the mantras is, therefore, not that the woman, because of her sex, is not entitled to utter the mantra in the Śrādd-

1. S. of Govindānanda, Bib. Ind. Cal., 1904, p. 377, ll. 19-78, l. 1f. 2. स्त्रीभिश्च अवरवर्णैश्च श्राद्धं विप्रानुष्ठासनात् । मन्त्रवत् विधि-पूर्वं तु वक्त्रि-पाक-विवर्जितम् ॥ 3. दुहिता पुत्रवत् कुर्यात् माता-पित्रोस्तु संस्कृता । अशौचमुदकं पिण्डमेकोद्दिष्टं सदा तथोः ॥ as quoted in श्राद्धमयूख p. 23; the श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी puts the verse under the name of Bhāradvāja.

ha, but because these women somehow picked out in the absence of all others need not utter the mantras. Such women will perform the Śrāddha somehow, and nobody would like them to perform the Śrāddhas in all the details. If the mantras are cut out, the oblations are also necessarily cut out and the ceremonies too become reduced by almost two-thirds. This is the reason why the यथाकथञ्चित् परिगृहीताः स्त्रियः should not utter the mantras.

The Nṛsiṃha-tāpanīya Upaniṣad says सावित्रीं प्रणवं यजुः स्त्रीशूद्रयोर्नेच्छन्ति : (some) do not recommend (the utterance of) the Sāvitrī, Praṇava and Yajus for the woman and the śūdra."¹ Baudhāyana² says, “अमन्त्रा हि स्त्रियो मताः—some say, women are not entitled to utter the mantra.” The words “नेच्छन्ति” and ‘मताः’ in the above texts show that the authorities themselves do not think that women are not entitled to utter the mantras though there are a few schools who think otherwise. Moreover, the authority of the Smṛti cannot be reckoned as valid against that of the Śruti. Thus, Vedavyāsa³ says that where Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇa differ (in opinion), the Śruti should be considered as the authority; of the (latter two) Smṛti precedes (over the Purāṇa). So, the schools whom Baudhāyana mentions need not be taken into serious consideration. The opinion of the school quoted by

1. P. 10 of Ānandāśrama edition (vol. 30), 1. 6. 7. 2. As quoted in आह्नतत्त्व, Hṛṣikeśa Śāstrin's ed., Calcutta, 1909-10, p. 411, 1. 4. 3. अति-स्मृति-पुराणानां विरोधो यत्र दृश्यते । तत्र श्रौतं प्रमाणं स्यात्-योद्धे स्मृतिवरा ॥ SmṛSam Poona, 1905, p. 367, l. 7 (verse 4).

the Nṛsiṃha-tāpanīya Upaniṣad is to be ignored not only because the Upaniṣad itself considers it ignorable, but also because the opinion of the majority should prevail when the authorities differ among themselves. Our copious Śruti evidence shows that the opinion of the opponent school cannot prevail.

In the Piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña¹ and other Śrāddhas² the middle cake³ given to the manes is to be eaten by the wife (Patnī). The husband gives her the cake saying that she should eat it as it represents the juice of the annual herbs growing in waters; as a result she should become pregnant with a human embryo. The wife too⁴ eats the cake with the prescribed mantra. If the house-holder has many wives, he divides the cake amongst them all and all of them should eat their respective portions along with the utterance of the above sacred formula. The author of the Vaijayantī as mentioned in the Saṃskāra-ratna-mālā⁵ says this eating of the cake is not optional but obligatory whenever the Śrāddha is celebrated. According to him, therefore, the utterance of this mantra is not an occasional but a regular right of the wife: if the eating of the cake is a regular (nitya) right, the utterance of the mantra must also be her regular right during the observance

1. See Saṃs R. M. Poona, 1899, p. 983, ll. 9f. 2. ब्राह्मसूत्रे, Poona, 1909, p. 37. 3. If there are 6 cakes, the wife should eat both the middle पिण्डषट्के मध्यमयोर्द्वयोः प्राशनम्, ब्राह्मसूत्रे p. 37.

4. If the wife, however is not in a fit stage, she should not eat the cake. 5. Poona. 1899, p. 983, l. 13.

of all the Śrāddhas. It does not seem, however, that the eating of the middle cake or both the cakes is compulsory. The Śrāddha-mayūkha¹ says it is only optional and not obligatory. Manu uses the word “Sutārthinī: desirous of a son” while prescribing the eating of the cake by the wife. Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa in the Śrāddha-kāṇḍa² says if she is desirous of a son or a daughter, the wife should eat the cake. Yama also says the wife desirous of an issue should do so. The Vāyu-purāṇa puts the word “Prajārthinī: longing for a son or a daughter” as an adjective to the wife and mentions the sacred formula “आधत्त पितरो गर्भम्” which, it assures, is सन्तानवर्धनः (capable of) increasing (the number of) sons or daughters.” Anyhow, the fact remains that whenever the wife eats the middle cake she as a rule utters the mantra. It is her right and no authority has ever intended to deprive her of this.

Āśvalāyana³ says in his Gṛhyasūtra that from the time of marriage onwards the house-holder himself, the wife, the son, the unmarried girl, or a disciple, should offer regular oblations to the Gṛhya fire. GārgyaNārāyaṇa⁴ and Hara-datta⁵ also cite the opinion of some schools according to whom the wife and the unmarried daughter are

1. Ed. by J. R. Gharpure,
Collection of Hindu Law Books, vol, XVIII, मध्यमपिण्डप्राशनं केवलमेव
न निवृत्तम् । 2. स्मृतिचन्द्रिका vol. IV, p. 402. 3. 1, 7, 1, पाणिग्रह-
णादि गृह्यं परिवारेत् स्वयं पत्न्यापि वा पुत्रः कुमार्थन्ते वासो वा । 4. P. 33,
l. 3, Bombay ed. of ĀśvGS., 5 ĀsvGS Trivandrum ed., p. 133. l. 21.

entitled to offer the oblation without any reservation. Khādira¹ says, "Some say the wife should sacrifice; the wife is the house and the fire belongs to the house." Gobhila² also says the wife should verily offer the morning and evening oblation to the domestic fire for the same reason. According to the Prayogaratna³ too, the wife, the unmarried daughter, the son, or the disciple, should offer the sacrifice in accordance with the above-mentioned order. The Smṛty-artha-sāra⁴ also holds that the sacrifice offered by the wife, the daughter, etc. is to be considered just the same as offered by the sacrificer though the wife and the daughter should offer without the besprinkling (पर्युक्ष्ण). So the wife and the unmarried daughter are entitled to offer the oblation along with the utterance of the mantras unquestionably, together with the Om at the beginning and end of each mantra.⁵ The connection between the domestic fire and the wife is so close that the fasting in case of its extinction devolves on the wife.⁶

1. Ed. by A. Mahādeva Śāstrin, Mysore Govt. Or. Lib. Series, no. 41, 1, 5, 17-18, p. 40, पत्नी जहुयादित्येके । गृहाः पत्नी गृहोऽग्निरेष इति । The definition of गृह्य, acc. to खादिर 1.5.1,— "यस्मिन्नग्नौ पाणिं गृह्णीयात् स गृह्यः" । Also cp. "न गृहं गृहमित्याहुर्गृहिणौ गृहसुच्यते" । 2. 1, 3, 15, p. 95, Bib. Ind "कामं गृह्ये भौ पत्नी जहुयात् साद्यंप्रातर्होमौ , गृहाः पत्नी, गृह्य एषोऽग्निर्भवतीति" 3. Bombay edition.

4. एतैरेव हुतं यच्च हुतं स्वयमेव तु, p. 34 (Ā.S.S., vol. 70).

5. Upodghāta, Poona, 1924, p. 47, 1. 12-13. सर्वमन्त्रं ध्यादावन्ते च प्रणवो वक्तव्यः । 6. Āśv GS. 1. 7. 3 यदि तूपशान्येत् पत्न्युपवसदित्येके ।

Tarkālaṅkāra in his commentary on Gobhila,¹ however, thinks that the wife should be given, on this account, so much education as would suffice for this, because "without studies she cannot sacrifice, nor does the Sūtra say that she should offer silently." Anyway, this much confession is sufficient to show that the wife is entitled to the Initiation ceremony so that she may be entitled to read at all, not to speak of uttering the Vedic mantras.

Pāraskara² says that the wife should, if she is desirous of conception, offer the first oblation in the evening as well as in the morning along with the utterance of the prescribed mantra wherein she should utter the "Svāhā" again.³ All the commentators, Karka,⁴ Jayarāma. Harihara, Gadādhara and Viśvanātha agree that the wife should worship the fire with the first oblation in the morning as well as in the evening with the above mantra. The mantra

1. 1, 5, 15, 1, 10 f., Bib. Ind. ed. न खल्वनधीत्य शक्नोति पत्नी होतुम् । न च तुष्णीमिव ह वचनम् । 2. ParGS. 1, 9, 3-5, p. 110, Bom. ed., 1918, "...उनः स्वाहेति पूर्वां गर्भकामा" । 3. This "Again" means that she should first offer the oblation with the mantra "Agnaye svāhā Prajāpataye svāhā" in the evening and "Sūryāya svāhā prajāpataye svāhā" in the morning, and then should offer another oblation with this mantra together with "Svāhā."

4. For the commentaries, see pp. 110; Jayarāma, 1. 3-4, p. III; Harihara, 1. 34 f. 'अत्र पूर्वां गर्भकामा' इत्यस्य कोऽर्थः ? किं नित्ययोद्धोराहुत्योः प्रथमा पूर्वशब्देन विवक्षिता उत ताम्र्यां पूर्वापूर्व होतव्या एव । किं तावत् प्राप्तम् ? अन्यथैव इति, मन्त्रान्तरेण देवतान्तर-होम-विधानामन्त-स्य देवतायाश्च गुणत्वेन क्रम-भेदकत्वात् । Gadādhara, 1. 6f. p. 114; Viśvanātha, 1. 9f., p. 115.

prescribed for her is a Homa-mantra ending with "Svāhā: Hail"; as she is to offer the first oblation with this, it is she who is to utter the Praṇava also. Without the upanayana, the wife can never do so.

Āśvalāyana¹ in connection with his section on Nāma-karaṇa says: 1. नाम च अस्मै दद्युः । 2. घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थमधि-निग्रानान्तं द्व्यक्षरम् । 3. चतुरक्षरं वा । 4. द्व्यक्षरं प्रतिष्ठा-कामश्चतुरक्षरं ब्रह्म-वर्चस-कामः । 5. युग्मानि त्वेव पुंसाम् । 6. अयुग्मानि स्त्रीणाम् । 7. अभिवादनीयञ्च समीक्षेत तन्मातापितरौ विद्येतामा उपनयनात् । In the commentary upon the Sūtra marked 5 by us, Haradatta says that because of the mention of "Tu" and "Eva" in the Sūtra all that is said in the above Sūtras (2-4) is not sufficient; and it is prescribed here that the names for males should consist of even syllables. The names of females should consist of an odd number of syllables. Āśvalāyana thus finishes what he has to say about the सांव्यवहारिक नाम and proceeds, without making any more distinction, to say about the abhivādanīya name of the child (male or female)²—" (He) should find out a name to be used (by the child) at the time when the child bows down to her³ (during the upanayana); the parents should keep the

1. I, 15, 4 f, p. 55, Bom. 2nd, ed.; 1, 13, 4 f, p. 62, Trivandrum ed. 2. सांव्यवहारिकं नाम कृत्वा अभिवादनीयञ्च कार्यमित्याह अभिवादनीयञ्च etc. Gārgyanārāyaṇa, p. 56. एवं तावत् सांव्यवहाराद्यस्य नाम्नः करणमुक्तम् । अथ अभिवादनीयस्य नाम्नः करणमाह अभिवादनीयञ्च etc., Haradatta, p. 63.

3. Āśvalāyana does not repeat this rule in the section on Upanayana as this rule has been mentioned here.

name concealed (to themselves) till the child's Initiation.¹" Kumāṛila Bhāṭṭa² also holds the same view when he says "Nāma abhivādaniyaṃ tu pitror hr̥dyā upanītitaḥ: But the name for the child's abhivādana the parents should keep secret till the upanayana."³ Āpastamba (1.15.8) also holds an identical opinion. Sāṅkhāyana and Kauṣītaki (1.24) also mention this secret name, an earlier reference to which is found in the Br̥h. Up.(vi.4.26)—with ceremonial details. The consensus of opinion is that this secret name must be given. This name reserved for use during the initiation ceremony for the girl has no meaning if the girl is not allowed to bow down to the Guru at the proper time.⁴

Gobhila⁵ says expressly that the bride should wear the sacred thread when the bridegroom leads her to the altar—"प्रावृतां यज्ञोपवीतिनीमभ्युदानयन् जपेत् सीमोऽदाद् गन्धर्वायेति"⁶ Leading her forward who is clothed in the proper way and wears the

1. See Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta, p. 56 and 63 respectively of the Bombay and Trivandaum editions. Their interpretation completely agrees with our translation.

2. Gṛhya-kārikā, pp. 263-326 of the Bombay ed. of Aśv GS. 2nd ed., 1.9.3, p. 273. For the use of the Abhivādaniya name during the upanayana see 1, 13, 23, p. 276.

3. MānGS. 1. 18. 2, BhārGS. 1. 26. HiranGS. 2. 4.—10 15 and VārGS. mention two names, one to be known to the parents and the preceptor, and the other an ordinary name (cf. Tait Samh. vi. 3. 1. 3). 4. For the Sāmavedic Sūtras, see Khā GS. 2. 2. 31; Gobh. 2. 7. 15 and Jaimini 1. 8. This view of Aśvalāyana is corroborated by the ManGS. 1, XVIII, p. 83, l. 1-4, Baroda ed.; cf. आश्वलायन op. cit., l. 14-15. 5. 2, 1, 19. 6. RV. X. 85. 41; AV. XIV. 2. 4.

sacrificial cord (over the left shoulder), he should murmur the verse "Soma gave her to the Gandharva, etc." *Prāvṛtā* here means evidently प्र प्रवर्षेण आवृता वेषपरिहिता यज्ञोपवीतिनो यज्ञोपवीतविशिष्टा i.e. she who has worn the dress properly and the sacred thread. In the *Adhikāra Sūtra*, Gobhila himself as well as *Kātyāyana*¹ say that one must always wear the sacred thread. So the repetition of *yajñopavīta* here means that for ceremonial purpose the bride should change her former *yajñopavīta* and wear a new one.

Candrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra, however, thinks otherwise. He gives us two alternative explanations.² Firstly, he says the word *yajñopavītinīm* in the passage means यज्ञोपवीतिनीमिव यज्ञोपवीतकृतोत्तरीयाम् The bride is *prāvṛtā kṛtottariyā*. How is she *Prāvṛtā*? : like a *yajñopavītinī*, like one who has worn the upper garment in the form of a sacred thread." Secondly, "*Prāvṛtām*" means प्रवर्षेणाच्छादितां स्मृत्युक्करीत्या परिहिताधरीयवसनम् and "*yajñopavītinīm*" means यज्ञोपवीतत्वात् परिहितोत्तरवसनम् i.e. the bride who has worn her lower garments in the manner prescribed in the *Smṛti* and worn her upper garments in the fashion of a *yajñopavīta*. The learned commentator also says the word *yajñopavīta* may be used in the sense of the *uttariya* for showing which way the *uttariya* is to be worn. These explanations are not tenable.

1. GobhGS. 1, 1, 2, यज्ञोपवीतिनाऽचान्तोदकेन कृतम् p. 8; *Karma-pradīpa*, Bib. Ind., vol. 178, p. 11. 1. 1, 'सद्योपवीतिना भाव्यं सदा वक्ष्यिष्येन च । विशिखो व्युपवीतस्य यत् करोति न तत् कृतम् ॥'

2. For the Text, see GobhGS. Bib. Ind., p. 308.

Tarkālāṅkāra quotes the Smṛti to show how the bride should be properly dressed: "She should not show the navel, the virtuous wife should wear the clothes down to the heels and should not keep the breasts uncovered." According to his second explanation "Prāvṛta" means "she who has worn the lower garment" and "Yajñopavītini" means "she who has worn the upper garment in the form of a sacred thread." The explanation that he gives does not follow the direction he mentions. If "Prāvṛtā" does not mean "One wearing both upper and lower garments" but "One wearing the lower garment" only, the breasts remain uncovered. The uttarīyavasana used in the form of a sacred thread cannot cover her breasts.¹ The commentator in commenting upon Gobh. 1.1.2. says on p. 17 "तदिदं यज्ञ-सूत्र-द्वयमुत्तरीयञ्च खल्विह कर्म-मात्र-शेषतया विधित्सितं विन्यासविशेषस्तु उत्तरीयस्येव यज्ञसूत्रस्यापि तत्र तत्र तत्तद्वाक्यादवगन्तव्यः । This pair of sacred threads and the upper garment are here mentioned as a rule as requisite for every ritual; but the particular manner of wearing it—as of the upper garment, so of the sacred thread—is to be known from those particular passages in those particular places". For this reason the word yajñopavīta cannot be used in the sense of the uttariya. It is declared in the Smṛti:—² यज्ञोपवीते द्वे धार्ये

1. For the right manner of wearing the yajñopavīta, see Karma-pradīpa, ch. I, verse 2 : त्रिवृदूर्ध्व-वृत्तं कार्यं तन्वृत्रयमधोवृत्तम् । त्रिवृत्तञ्चोपवीतं स्वात्तस्यैको ग्रन्थिरिच्छते ॥ GobhGS. p. 64, l. 12f. 2. KarmaKP. Bombay, 1921 f. 51; cf. Smṛtyarthasāra, p. 5, l. 10; GobhGS. p. 65.

श्रौत-स्मार्तौ कर्मसु । तृतीयञ्चोत्तरोयार्थं वस्त्रालाभे तदिष्यते ॥ “Two sacred threads are to be worn in the Śrauta and Smārta sacrifices; a third one also should be worn for an upper garment: this is prescribed if a cloth is not available.” Here it is said that a third sacred thread is to be used if an *uttarīya* is not available. If the *uttarīya* is not wanting, the third thread is not to be used. Here the word *yajñopavīta* is not certainly used in the sense of *uttarīya*, but it is said that *yajñopavīta* is to be substituted for the *uttarīya*. A substitute for a thing can never be the thing itself. Nor is it reasonable to think that because two different things are worn in the same manner, Gobhila has used one word for the other. Why should he? The *uttarīya* is as well-known as the *yajñopavīta*. What reason is there that the word *uttarīya* would be dropped at will and the word “*yajñopavīta*” be substituted for it? The learned commentator quotes in p. 65 the Nigama-pariśiṣṭa “वाससा यज्ञोपवीतानि कुरुते, तदभावे लिङ्गता सूत्रेण”¹ in which, he thinks, the word “*yajñopavīta*” means an upper garment (*uttarīya*). To follow the commentator, the sacrificer is to wear three upper garments which is nowhere prescribed in the Ritual literature. Again, three *uttarīyas* to be made of a cloth is an anomaly, for, in order to wear it properly, one is to wear the cloth wound round nine times on one’s shoulder sideways. Two, and sometimes three of these, are to be worn. Nobody wants the sacrificer to carry a heap of clothes round about him. The real meaning

1. See KarmaKP. f. 50; GobhGS., Bib. Ind., p. 65.

of the passage is what is expressed in the couplet above. The cloth, not a sacred thread but an accompaniment of the two threads normally used, is considered as making the number of threads three. We come across a similar use in the following passage: "Yajamānapañcamā ṛtvija idāṃ bhakṣayanti:¹ the priests with yajamāna as the fifth drink the idā." Here, too, similarly, the "Upavīta", means two sacred threads with the garment as the third, i.e. the "Upavītāni" three in number together with the garment which is not an 'upavīta' as in the above case the yajamāna is not a priest. So it is here by no means said, as our commentator thinks, that the 'yajñopavīta' is 'uttariya.'

In a sacrifice to be performed even by the widow, she should wear the sacred cord on the right or left shoulder as prescribed² and should herself offer the annual or other śrāddhas to her husband, father-in-law, etc.³ When she performs an ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha for a son, daughter, etc. she should herself do all the initial ceremonial necessities up to the initial resolution (Saṃkalpa) and may then give permission to a priest to perform the śrāddha on her behalf.⁴

1. Very frequently used in the S-Ss; also cf. uses like वेदान्थापयामास महाभारतपञ्चमान् । 2. आहमञ्जरी, ed. by Vapu Mahadeva Kelkar, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, p. 117.

3. स्वभर्तृ-प्रभृति-विभ्यः स्वपितृभ्यस्तथैव च । विधवा कारयेच्छ्राद्धं यथाकाल-मतद्धिता ॥ SmrSam, Poona, 1905; also quoted in आहमञ्जरी, Poona, 1909, p. 115.

4. कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणमृत्विक्त्वेन परिकल्प्य तं ब्रूयात् 'ममाज्ञया त्वमिदमसुकआह्वयं कर्मे कुर्विति ।' She may herself perform it if she likes, see l. 20, p. 117, op. cit.

In course of the ceremony she wears the sacred cord on the right or left shoulder accordingly as the priest does.¹ This is the case when she gives a priest permission to perform the rite for her; no wonder she will do the same in course of performing the rite herself. If she is not entitled to be initiated for the vedic studies and wear the sacred cord, she cannot wear the sacred thread during the sacrifice. In the section on Adhikāra-sūtra prescribing general rules (to be observed in all the rites), Gobhila² says that the ceremony should be performed by one wearing the sacrificial thread on one's left shoulder (as a rule) and having sipped water. In other places we have shown that the woman is entitled to perform the sacrifices. Without following the general rule, how can she perform the sacrifice properly? Even in modern usage there is some relic of the woman's wearing the sacred thread. Now-a-days the bride is made to wear during the marriage the sacred thread of the bridegroom. This is a rite observed by women.³ Women, owing to their conservative nature,⁴ always stick to things of time immemorial. Āpastamba and others pay their due respect to these Stry-ācāras when they recommend them to be observed as their prescribed rules.⁵ So it is certain that by

1. ऋत्विक्-कर्म-काले तद्-यज्ञोपवीतिले ऽनुज्ञात्राऽपि यज्ञोपवीतिता कृत्या । तत्प्राचीनावीतिले तथा प्राचीनावीतिता कृत्या ।

2. यज्ञोपवीतिनाऽचान्ते ऽद्वेन कृत्यम् Gobh GS. 1. 1. 2.

3. Stry-ācāra. 4. Buckle, Fraser's Magazine, April, 1858; Mason, Women in Primitive Culture, p. 273.

5. ĀpGS. 2, 15; here he recommends that the ceremonies that

“Yajñopavīṭinī” Gobhila means a bride who has worn the sacrificial thread and not one who has worn the upper garment in the form of a “Yajñopavīta”. Gobhila here means that the bride should be properly dressed with the lower garment (adhariya) as well as upper (uttariya), and should wear a pair of new sacred threads; then the husband should lead her, hand in hand, to the marriage alter, while uttering the sacred formula “Soma gave to Gandharva,” etc. Though in the section on general rules (Adhikāra-sūtras) it has been prescribed that the sacred thread should be always worn while sacrificing,¹ the repetition of “Yajñopavīta” would here mean that a pair of new sacred threads are to be worn during the marriage ceremony.

Kātyāyana says in the Karma-pradīpa² that in accordance with the seniority in caste and age, the honest wives should separately stir the fire. In stirring the fire the husband should not appoint a sūdrā, an uncontrollable or a vicious wife.³ The strongest of them who is the best of them as are required by custom should be learnt from women; cf. ĀpDS. 11, 6, 15, 9; 11, 11, 29, 11-12: ĀśvGS. 1, 14, 8: etc.

1. Whenever the word “Yajñopavīta” is repeated in the Sūtras, there is always a special sense behind it; see Śridatta, Snāna-prakaraṇa in Ācārādarsa f. 22, a-b. “Yajñopavīti”, etc. Harihara, śānanśūtraभाष्य, Benares edition of ParGS. pp. 55⁸-559: कात्यायनस्मृतौ. etc. 2. 1, 8, 6 f, Bib. Ind., vol. I. नैकयापि विना कार्यमाधानं भार्यया द्विजैः । अकृतं तद्विजानीयात् सर्वां नात्वारभन्ति यत् ॥ वयस्यैष्ठेयं बह्वीभिः सवर्णाभिश्च जन्मतः कार्यमग्निच्युतेराभिः साध्वीभिर्मन्थनं पृथक् ॥ 1. 8. 5. 6

3. नात्र शूद्रां नियुञ्जीत न शूद्रदोषकारिणीम् । नाशसनस्थां नान्येन उंसा च सह सङ्गताम् ॥ Op. cit 1. 8. 7.

it were and certainly, the best of all those initiated (i.e. the most learned)¹ should stir the fire last of all with all her heart's content. This shows that Initiation for studies was a condition, not only necessary, but essential, for having preferential treatment in the religious, and consequently, in household affairs too.

In the Rāmāyaṇa,² queen Kauśalyā and in the Mahābhārata,³ Sāvitrī and Ambā offer oblations along with sacred formulas.

In his section "Strī-saṃskāras" in the Madana-pārijāta,⁴ Madana Pāla quotes Kātyāyana⁵ to show that if any purificatory rite (saṃskāra) before the initiation ceremony is left unobserved, it should be performed with the offering of oblations. If the time for initiation expires, according to Madana, sacrifices for recovering the rights forfeited (Vrātya-stomas) and other expiations are to be observed. As Madana deals with these things in his section on Strī-saṃskāra, it is clear that women are entitled to be initiated.

The brilliant record of their Vedic education also shows that women are entitled to be initiated for Vedic studies. The Ṛg-veda furnishes us with a long list of seers composing or discoursing on sacred texts (Brahmavādinīs). Accord-

1 ततः शक्ततमा पश्चादासामन्यतमाऽपि या । उपेतानां चान्यतमा मन्धेद्विं निक्कामतः ॥ 1. 8. 8 p. 116, 1, 2 2. II, 20 14 ff.

3. III. 296; V. 186.

4. p. 362, Bib. Ind.

5. कात्यायनसंहिता forming part of the UnavSamh, ed. by P. Tarkaratna, p. 330, देवतानां विषयान् जुहोतिषु, कथं भवेत्, etc.

ing to the Bṛhaddevatā,¹ they form three groups: (1) those that praised the deities; they are all strictly speaking, vedic seers; (2) those who conversed with seers and deities; (3) those who sang of the evolutionary forms of self: these latter two groups may also be called seers in that the hymns or the Ṛks were revealed through them. In the first group are घोषा,² गोधा,³ विश्ववारा,⁴ अपाला,⁵ उपनिषद्,⁶ निषद्,⁷ ब्रह्मजाया,⁸ named जुहु, sister of अग्रस्त्य⁹ and अदिति.¹⁰ इन्द्रानौ,¹¹ इन्द्रमाता,¹² सरमा,¹³ रोमशा,¹⁴ उर्वशी,¹⁵ लोपामुद्रा,¹⁶ नदी,¹⁷ यमो¹⁸ and शाश्वती नारी¹⁹ form the second group. श्री,²⁰ लाक्षा²¹ सार्वरात्री,²² वाच्,²³ श्रद्धा,²⁴ मेधा,²⁵ दक्षिणा,²⁶ रात्रि²⁷ and सूर्या सावित्री²⁸ come within the third group.²⁹

Yājñavalkya teaches his wives Gārgī and Maitreyī the most abstruse philosophical doctrine of Soul.³⁰ Gārgī

1. Compare आर्षाक्रमण X. 102; बृहदेवता 11, 84.
2. RV. X.39,40. 3. x. 134. 6.7. 4. V. 28.
5. VIII. 91 6. and 7. Seers of the Khila beginning
वा धारयन्तु मधुनो वृत्तस्य 8. X. 109; Cf. Ārsā., X. 51.
9. X. 60. 6; Cf. Ārsā., X. 24, 10. Some Rks of IV. 18,
11. X. 86 (several stanzas) and 145. 12. X. 153; Cf.
Ārsā., X. 72. 13. Several Rks of X. 108. 14. I. 126. 7.
15. Several stanzas of X. 95 16. I. 179. 12.
17. Several Rks of III, 33. 18. X, 10 and 154.
19. VIII. I. 34; Cf. सर्वाहुक्रमणो on RV. VIII, 1.
20. Supposed seer of Khila after V.V. 87 (Śrī-sūkta).
21. Seer of Khila below VII, 51. 22. X, 89.
23. X. 125 24. X. 151. 25. Medhā-sūkta, Khila
after X, 151. 26. X. 107. 27. X. 127. 28. X. 85.
29. For a critical appreciation of the hymns by these Women
Seers, see Sanskrit Poetesses, Part A, p. lxxix-lxxxix.
30. Bṛh Upan II, 4, 1-14 and 4.5. 1-15.

Vācaknavī is venerated as the champion of all the learned Brāhmaṇas present in the court of Janaka to ask Yājñavalkya, the most learned sage of his age, a series of questions in order to ascertain if they should debate with Yājñavalkya or not.¹ This time she asks him two questions which he manages to answer. On a subsequent occasion² she takes up the question of the old water cosmology. Yājñavalkya is, however, compelled to dissuade her from asking any further question. Umā Haimavatī tells Agni and Vāyu of the one Supreme Soul.³ The A V. in extolling the Brahmacharya says that by Vedic studentship a girl wins a young husband.⁴ The Vedic literature contains a long list of the names of female teachers of Philosophy and the Śāṅkhāyana⁵ and Āśvalāyana⁶ gr̥hya-sūtras mention the names of Gārgī Vācaknavī, Vaḍavā Prāthitheyī and Sulabhā Maitreyī in the list of Ṛṣis. The Aitareya⁷ and Kauṣītaki⁸ Brāhmaṇas quote the authoritative opinion of a "Kumārī Gandharva-gr̥hītā: maiden seized by a Gandharva" that the Agnihotra Ritual which was once performed on both days is now performed on alternate days only. Patañjala Kāpya's wife⁹ and daughter¹⁰ were also Gandharva-gr̥hītās. Students from all over the country visited them for knowledge. Kāpya himself learnt many things from his wife. The extensive use of matrony-

1. Brh. Up., III, 3. 2. Ōp. cit., III, 6. 3. Talavakāra Upaniṣad, IV, 1 f. 4. Atharva-veda, XI. 5. 18, ब्रह्मचर्येण कन्या युवानं विन्दते पतिम् । 5 IV. 10. 6. III, 4, 4. 7. V. 29. 8. II, 9. 9. Brh Upan, III, 7, 1. 10. Op. cit., III, 3, 1.

mics also may partly be due to the wide reputation of the learning of the mothers, some of whom were most probably teachers. Kātyāyana recognises the established position and honour of women teachers in his Sūtras (Vā. 2477) "Acār-yād aṇatvam ca" and (Vā. 125) "Mātulopādhyāyayor ānug-vā."¹ Because of the honour shown to the learned women, the parents perform some special ceremony for having a learned daughter.² They boil rice mixed with sesamum, eat it with butter and make themselves worthy of giving birth to a learned daughter. Ātreya goes from North India to the South to learn the Vedānta from Agastya and others.³ Ubhaya-bhārati⁴ mediates in the controversy between her husband Maṇḍana Miśra and Saṅkarācārya who represent the Vedic learning in their age.⁵ Even in the RV., women are found exhorted for addressing popular assemblies (vidathas)⁶ and certainly some of them were good orators.

In the Vedic ritual women have a recognised position for their songs and aptitude in music. Most probably these

1. Bāla-manoramā, vol. I. p. 379-80; for Bāl. itself, p. 379, l. 31 f.—80, l. 9 f.
2. Paṇḍitā duhitā; Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, VI. 4. 17.
3. Bhavabhūti, Uttara-carita, act II. अस्मिन्नैव अगस्त्य-प्रसूताः प्रदेशे भूयांस उद्गीथविदो वसन्ति । तेषामधिगन्तुं निगमान्त-विद्यां वाल्मीकि-प्रसूतादिह पश्येतामि ॥
4. Most probably because of her vast learning she is also known as "Sarasvatī."
5. For studies in general, cf. Mahā-nirvāṇa VIII, 47; कन्याप्येवं पालनीया मिश्रणीया चातिशब्दतः i.e. the daughter should be brought up with as much care and given as much education as the son.
6. RV. x. 85. 26-27

were parts of their Sāma-vedic learning. The RV bears testimony to women's songs on ceremonial occasions.¹ Women are more willing to have singers rather than Brahma-vādins. Women love men who can sing.² In the Ma āvrata, wives sing and play various sorts of instruments.³ The Satyāśādhā-śrauta-sūtra⁴ mentions in this connection the name of the following instruments, viz., Apaghāṭalikā, Tālukavīṇā, Kāṇḍavīṇā, Pichorā, and Alāvu-kapīśiṣṇa; the Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra,⁵ Ghatakarkarī, Avaghāṭarikā. Kāṇḍavīṇā, Pichorā, etc; the Latyāyana-śrauta-sūtra⁶ also gives a similar list. The Aitareya-Āraṇyaka⁷ simply refers to the fact, but does not give any detail. According to Lātyāyana, the wives should sit to the west of the Udgātṛ and each wife should alternately play lutes.⁸ They must not play one particular instrument called Ghāṭarī slowly⁹. As every part of the ritual must be perfectly performed, it may be fairly assumed that the wives were expected to be expert musicians and singers. The aptitude of women in dancing is also exhibited in the RV.¹⁰

In one Pravādana karma mentioned in the Vārāhagrhya-sūtra¹¹ in connection with the marriage ceremony the face of

1. RV. ix. 66. 8. ससुत्वा, etc; ix. 56. 3. अभि त्वा योषणो दृश, etc.
2. Sarasvaty-anuvāka; 20, KathGS. Appendix, IV, p. 303.
3. Tait. Samh., VI. 1.6.5; Mait Samh. III. 7, 3, etc; Sat. Brāh., III. 2.4.9.
4. XVI, 6, 21, vol. VI. p. 382.
5. XVII, 3, 12; for the way how to play these instruments, see the S. and G. sūtras; also LātSS. IV, 6f.
6. IV. 2, 1-8.
7. V. 1.5.
8. LātSS. IV, 2, 5.
9. Op. cit., Sūtra 17.
10. e.g. 1.9.2.4, अविषेगांसि वपते, etc.
11. Prof. Raghu Vīra's edit.on. pp. 34-35.

the bride is anointed with hands smeared with ghee for making her dear to her husband, brother-in-law etc. and then she plays the various instruments and drums which have been consecrated beforehand for the purpose; she prays to the Dundubhi and Gomukha for excellent children and particularly for charming daughters who, growing up under the same roof and friendly with Indrāṇī, would play together, and also to Prajāpati for children and welfare.

The references to Viśpalā's being provided with a leg of iron in Khela's battle would show that women were trained in the Military art as well.¹ Being chased by Mudgalānī her husband's enemy took to heels.² There were many fighting women in the non-Aryan fold as well.³

No better honour could be shown to the learning of women than by depicting the deity of learning as a goddess. Vāc and Sarasvatī represent the highest recognition and respect the Hindu sages could ever show to women.

From our above arguments the conclusion follows that the girl is entitled to have the Upanayana, wear the sacrificial thread and utter the mantras together with the praṇava.

*The Daughter in other Vedic Rituals than Saṃskāras*⁴. The daughter after her Saṃskāra is entitled to perform the śrāddha rites for her parents. She cannot, however,

1. RV. I. 116. 15, चरिव' हि वरिवाक्छेद्दि, etc. RV. I. 112. 10; RV. I. 118. 8 and x.39. 8. 2. RV. x. 102. 2. For other instances, see RV. 5, 61; 80. 6; 3. RV. 5.30.9; 1. 32.9. vii. 78.5; 8.33.19, etc. 4. This section was mostly published in New Indian antiquary, Vol. IV, No. 2, May, 1941, pp. 77-85.

in any case, precede in her claim over her brother. The Śrāddha-mayūkha thinks as the wife precedes the daughter in her claim over the property, the former should precede in the śrāddhas too.¹ Govindānanda, author of the Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī also holds the same view.² He also thinks that the unmarried daughter will have the right to perform the śrāddha in precedence over the married one as the Gotra of the latter has been changed.³ If the daughter is rendered a Putrikā, she precedes over her mother in her claim.⁴ Śūlapāṇi,⁵ however, thinks that in case of absence of the 13 kinds of son, the son of the Putrikā will be the proper person. As the Putrikā is really a substitute for the son, most probably Śūlapāṇi means if the Putrikā is dead, her son should observe the rites.

Govindānanda⁶ specifically says that the daughter will have the right and not her father, to perform the funeral and śrāddha rites for her mother provided she is brotherless.

Just like the son, the daughter also is not entitled to be married within one year of her father or mother's death, as the Vṛddhiśrāddha cannot be performed for her.⁷

1. P. 20, l. 1. The Śrāddha-vivekakāra, (f. 22a) however, mentions a long list of persons after whom the daughter is to have her claim. 2. Op. cit., p. 462. 3. P. 465, l. 15f: Tad-abhāve sahodarā ity atra duhitrabhāve'pi boddhavyam. Patnī-duhitaraś caiva iti Yājñavalkyena patny- anantaram duhitur dhanādhikāra-pratipādanāt tasya copakāravāpyatvāt piṇḍa-dānādikaṅcopakārah. 4. P. 22. 1.13. 5. Śrāddhāviveka f. 22a. 6. Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī, p. 464; also p. 469. 7. Op. cit., p. 358, 1. If; also p. 468, कन्यासंस्कारे

So far as the Agnisamskāra is concerned, the daughter has the same right as the son.¹ If the child does not exceed two years, it is not, as a rule,² entitled to have the Agnisamskāra i.e., to be cremated. Covered with an unwashed garment adorned with flowers and scented,³ it is put in a pit. No water-libation is to be offered.⁴

If a daughter under two dies, the parents become impure for one day or three days only.⁵ According to some authorities, if she dies before the Cūḍākaṛaṇa, the Aśauca (Impurity) passes away immediately;⁶ if after Cūḍākaṛaṇa, and

कन्यादानाधिकारिण्या जनन्याऽपि स्य कन्याविवाहे वृद्धिश्चाह कर्तव्यमेव ।
वाचस्पतिमिश्रादीनामपि मतमेतत् । 1. Pār GS. III, 10, 5, p. 361
Bom. According to Āpastamba (Dh. S. II, 6, 15. 7) the child is
buried if it is below one. The parents as well as those who bury
it take a bath (and are purified). 2. If the parents or other
relatives so desire, the child may be cremated; see Karka, Bom. Ed.
of PārGS. p. 363, 1.4; Jayarāma, op. ait. p. 366, 1.5; Śrāddha-
viveka, f. 22b. 3. PārGS. p. 377, 1.8; VaikhGs V. p. 82.

4. According to the Śrāddhavivekakāra, the girl after two is
entitled to the Pūrvakriyā till her marriage. Her father or brother
should offer this. By Pūrvakriyā, he means all the rites beginning
from the cremation down to the end of the Aśauca, तत्र दाह
मारभ्याशौचान्तदिनपर्यन्ता क्रिया पूर्वो । In case she is cremated, the
water-libations must be offered. For the offering of water-libation
and the Aśauca, see also Vasiṣṭha, IV, 9-10; Viṣiṣṭha cites the
opinion of some who think the child should be cremated after the
appearing of the teeth. Cf. Gautama, XIV, 34; Viṣṇu XXII, 27-28.

5. PārGS, III, 10, 2-4. Similarly, in case of the son too.

6. See Karka, PārGS, Bom. ed. p. 363, 1. 1-2 Jayarāma, op.
cit., p. 366, 1. 2. For divergent opinions, see Kullukabhaṭṭa on
Manu, VIII, 72, p. 192, Nirṇayasāgara ed.

before marriage, it continues for three days.¹ For the death of a married daughter, the parents need not observe any impurity. But if she dies in their house, they observe *Aśauca* for three nights.²

As the Vedic Authority is to supersede the Authority of the *Śmṛti*, the daughter has the right to marry in her adult age at her discretion the person whom she loves most. Adult marriage seems to have been the rule even down to the *Sūtra* period. Against Prof. JOLLY,³ Dr. Bhandarkar⁴ maintains that the passages in question, viz., *GobhGS.*, III, 46, *HirG5.*, 1, 12, 2 and *Gr̥hyāsamgraha* II, 17, do not go in support of the marriage of a "Nagnikā". The *Jaim GS.*⁵ expressly says the bride should be "Anagnikā: not one who has not menstruated, i.e., she should have puberty". The *Vār GS.*⁶ says, the bride should be not only anagnikā, but "Aspr̥ṣṭamaithunā: having no sexual experience"; the latter adjective signifies that the girl is married at an age when she is able to have had previous sexual experience. Bloomfield also accepts the reading anagnikā in *ZDMG*⁷. Paṇḍit Satyavrata Sāmaśramiṇ accepts in his edition of the *Gr̥hyāsamgraha* the reading "Anagnikā."⁸ Mahāmahopādhyāya C. Tarkālaṅkāra in 1908 quotes the verse *Gr̥hyāsamgraha*

1. See Karka and Jayarāma. 2. *Viṣṇu*, XXII, 33. 34.

3. *ZDMG*, XLVI, 313f; XLVII, 610f. 4. Op. cit XLVII, 143f. 5. P. 19, 1. 11. For our interpretation of Anagnikā cf. *Amara-kośa* नचिकाऽनागतात्वा p. 125, 17. 6. P. II, Baroda Ed.

7. XXXV, p. 572. 8. P. 10-11 ऊषा Ser, I vol. 10.

II. 17. in his edition of Gobh GS.¹ with the nagnikā reading while the same learned author recants his old faith in his later publication (1910) of the Gr̥hyā-saṃgraha² itself and supports the Anagnikā reading.

The two verses RV. X. 85, 40.41—AV. XIV. 2, 3.4 are found in various Gr̥hya-sūtra.⁹ Here it is said that Soma, Gandharva and Agni are the three previous husbands of the women and her human husband is the fourth one. Gobhilaputra says in his Gr̥hyā-saṃgraha³ that along with the indications of youth Soma begins to enjoy the woman, Gandharva with the development of breasts, and Agni after puberty. Now, if the human husband is to marry after Agni has enjoyed her as his wife, Agni being the third husband, he is to marry her after her puberty.

The Vrata of the fourth night⁴ is to be celebrated for solemnizing the marriage itself as without it the wife cannot

1. Vol. II. p. 83. 8. P. 72. But this annotation तु in the sense of अपि is uncalled for and wrong. नग्निकां तु वदेत् कन्यां यावद्गुप्तमती भवेत् । ऋतुसती लनग्निका तां प्रयच्छन् नग्निकाम् ।

2. सोमस्य जाया प्रथमं गन्धर्वस्ते परः पतिः । तृतीयोऽग्निर्हो पतिस्तुरीयस्ते मनुष्यजाः ॥ सोमोऽददद् गन्धर्वाय गन्धर्वोऽददद् अग्रे । रयिं च पुत्रञ्चादादग्निमं ह्यमथो दमाम् । PārGS. I. 4. 16; HirGS. I. 202; MānGS. I. 10a.

3. II. 19. The Text of this verse, तस्माद्यज्ञनीपेतामरजामपयोधराम् । अभुक्ताश्चैव सोमाद्यैः कन्यकान्तु प्रयच्छते is corrupt. Candrākānta Tarkālarṅkāra's justification of प्रयच्छते can hardly be supported. Moreover, it contradicts the Vedic Text and must, therefore, be rejected. 4. GobhGS. II, 5; KhāGS., I. 4. 12. GS I, 23, II; 24 and 25; ApGS., 8.8 seq; BhārGS., I, 19; PārGS. I, II, 13; SānGS., I, 18, 19.

be one with her husband in Piṇḍa, Gotra and Sūtaka.¹ This vrata sanctifies the female body for all purposes and makes the wife same flesh and blood, heart and soul with her husband.² If the husband and the wife observe penance for one year, they are sometimes given the assurance of having a Ṛṣi son;³ if they cannot restrain themselves, they may have sexual enjoyment after 5, 3, or 1 month or even after 12, or 6, or 3 days, or 1 day at least. As the authorities prescribe that they may enjoy sexually even after a day, the girl must be physically fit for such enjoyment. So in the Sūtra period the girl cannot be married before puberty. With the lowering of the age-limit in later times which came down and down so much that even conception-marriage became a matter of great religious concern, the law-givers stick to the principle of the solemnization of the marriage by means of this vrata, but they speak no more of the vrata to take place within one year or after a few days, the reasons for which are obvious. Even those early law-givers who, unlike Manu, Parāśara and Nārada, think that widows should not be re-married even when they suffer from five forms of distress, admit that an akṣatayoni (having no experience of sexual intercourse) widow should, however, be re-married. While there was no scope in olden times for any such distinction, the later device was made as a concession to popular feelings, specially because Law-givers as well as their follow-

1. See GobhGS., Bib. ed. 2. cf. the mantras PārGS. 3. AsvGS; see the Commentaries of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta.

ers were still immensely guided by the influence of the Sūtrakāras.

Again, the marriage ritual in the Gṛhya-sūtras has no place in it for the girl's father after the Kanyādāna rite. The subsequent rite is entirely an affair of the husband and wife. The mutual promises and assurances of love protection and obedience¹ presuppose a much greater, capacity in both than can be attributed to them even in their adolescent period. The proper performance of the ritual requires that the wife must understand the mantras she utters;² this also presupposes a reasonably advanced age. The Mantra-Brāhmaṇa³ expressly says the girl should be given in marriage only when she longs for a husband.

The Kāma-sūtra and Epics also uphold the discretionary power of the maiden in choosing her husband. The former⁴ expressly says that the Gandharva, i.e., the Love-form of marriage is the best of all the eight; and it mentions various ways by which the maiden should capture the heart of her lover and the lover that of his lady-love. The

1. The wife: VārGS. Raghuvīra's Ed., p. 36, 1.8 ff; p. 43, 1.2f, etc.; KāchGS., p. 20, 1.1f, part. 1.14f; p. 109, 1.8f, 16 f, etc., p. 113, 1.15 f; p III 1.4 ff; etc.

2. The Upodghāta of Bhaṭṭoji Gopinātha Dīkṣita. p. 44. 1.24. मन्त्रार्थ-ज्ञान पूर्वकमेव कर्मकर्तव्यताकथनम्, also 1.27; Vyāsa, as quoted in the same, मन्त्रार्थमनुसन्धाय जपहोमादिकाः क्रियाः ।

3. 2, 1. 1. For the forms of marriage that obtained in Vedic India and particularly, for love-marriages, see Introduction to my edition of the Saṃbandha-viveka of Śūlapāṇi, Vol. I of my series Contribution of Bengal to Smṛti Literature. 4. Kāmasūtra p. 232.

Svayamvara¹ form of marriage of the Epics is well-known. Manu² also recognises the Gandharva marriage, the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover, as dharmya, sanctioned by Religion. He also recognises the discretionary power of the bride when he says that the consent of the maiden would be necessary³ if she were to be given in marriage to the younger brother of the person who had paid the nuptial fee. The Vedic Saṃhitās, too, show that there was no parental control in this respect, though the parents helped the girl to the best of their power in finding out her husband.⁴ Here the maiden is found anxious to leave her father's gotra and family for ever and be permanent in her husband's family. If successful in love-matters, the younger sister marries before her elder sister even; if unsuccessful, daughters grow old in the parental abode.⁵ In order that the maiden may get the husband she wants to have, the AV. gives a series of love-charms which pass under the name of Strī-kṛtya hymns.⁶ Rival lovers and lady-loves perform malicious rites to win the hearts of the desired.⁷ There is a magical rite in the AV.⁸ in which

1. For absolute Love-marriages, cf. those of Damayanti, Sāvitrī etc. This, however, differs from the Svayamvara of the Smṛti in which the choice of husbands is conferred upon the girl if she is not married till three years after puberty; cf. Manu, IX, 90, etc.

2. III, 25; cf. III. 32.

3. IX 97 यदि कन्यामुपन्नेत

4. The parents take part in the rites which the girls perform for a happy ending of their love affairs; cf. AV. II, 36; VI, 60, etc.

5. RV. I, 117, 7; II. 17, 7, etc.; cf. AV. XVIII, 8, 47.

6. AV. II, 30, 2-3, etc.

7. AV. II, 30, 2-3, etc.

8. AV. VI. 138; VII, 90.; I. 14. 11. VII. 37.

the bride binds the lover with her hair; this symbolically means that the lover will be truly hers and hers alone. Various domestic rites¹ are also prescribed by the AV. to be performed by the maiden; these are calculated to help her in love-affairs. While the maiden, anxious for having her lover, takes recourse to various love-charms and other domestic rites, the parents perform for her good the rites² named Rākāholākā, Kumārīyajña and the Saṭoddharaṇa. As to the interpretation of Rākāholākā, Devapāla³ cites different opinions; however the rite is celebrated in the morning for the happiness of the maiden in order that the marriage of the maiden may draw nigh. Brahmadarśana⁴ says Holākā is a famous rite in the Central Provinces as well as in Kāśmīra, wherein a fire is kindled near the gate of the house; after the ājyabhāgānta, the main oblation is offered with the Mantra 'yāste Rākā' etc. The Kumārīyajña⁵ also is celebrated for the happiness of the maiden in the place where she dresses herself. After the ājyabhāgānta, the sacrifice is offered with the Mantra 'Indrāṇīm āsu nārīṣu'; etc. The Saṭoddharaṇa⁶ is performed for a betrothed girl during the Sīmantonayana ceremony of a pregnant wife. The symbolic meaning of the rite is, therefore, nothing but praying for similar fortune of the girl also.

In this rite the hair of the maiden is parted in a charm-

1. AV. II 36; VI, 30; VI. 82 etc. 2. These rites have not been mentioned by any other Sūtrakāra than Laugākṣi.

3. KāthGS., p. 287, l. 23f.

4. KāthGS., p. 288, l. 6.

5. Op. cit., l. 9-13.

6. KāthGS., p. 133, l. II-21.

ing manner and anointed with cosmetics and adorned with sarvoṣadhi (a mixture of different herbs) and saffron. Ādityadarśana says¹ herein the plating of the hair should be ceremonially performed with mantras; during the Anavalobhana² (the rite for preventing disturbances that bring on danger to the embryo) which is to take place together with the Simantonnayana of the same pregnant wife, the hair of the maiden should be parted in a charming manner, but this parting should be hardly seen. Thus every tender care is taken that the maiden may get a suitable husband and be happy in marriage while she herself prays to Agni and other gods to win the heart of her lover or if she has none, to have a suitable husband.

Just as the mother is the highest object of veneration and the wife is of love, so the daughter is of affection³ and tenderness. A pretty girl is symbolic of good luck.⁴ Eight girls represent eight objects of good luck during the consecration ceremonies of kings or crown-princes.⁵ At times sixteen of them participate in similar ceremonies.⁶ The goddess of Fortune and Beauty resides in their bodies.⁷ Even a sight of her averts evil.⁸

Parents get the daughter after much longing and penance as the self of Blessing,⁹ and it is only natural that they

1. KāthGS., p. 133, l. 20-21.
2. Cf. ĀśoGS., I, 13, 1.
3. Manu, IV, 135 "Duhitā kṛpaṇam param"; Ait. Brā. VII, 13.
4. MBh. vii. 82, 22.
5. Ram. ii. 14. 36
6. Rām vi. 128. 38 and 62.
7. Viṣṇu, 99. 14
8. cp. MBh ix. 56. 24f.
9. MBh. xiii. 87. 10; xiii. 104. 151, iii. 83. 190; xiii. 83 51.

would rear her up with as much care as the son.¹ The supposition of Schrader² and others³ that the depositing of the cooking vessels during the final bath (Avabhṛtha) after Somayāga refers to the adherence of Vedic people to female infanticide is not tenable. In the Soma sacrifice the cooking vessels are considered as females and the wooden vessels named vāyavyas as males. Now, the Taittirīya,⁴ Maitrāyaṇī⁵ and Kāṭhaka saṃhitās⁶ make similar remarks that as the sacrificer and his retinue carry vāyavya vessels depositing the sthālīpātras in the bathing place, the daughter is deposited after birth while son is lifted up. The difficulty arises in connection with the right interpretation of the word Parāsyanti. In his article in ZDMG, Boethlingk says "As 'As' with prepositions is used not only to imply 'to throw', but also to mean 'to place, to lay', we may very well translate "Parāsyanti" by 'put aside', perhaps among others also by 'hand (the child) over immediately to the person waiting for the child'.⁷ As

1. कन्याप्येवं पालनीया शिशुर्नारी चातिव्रतः । Mahā-nirvāṇa-tantra. MBh. xiii. 83. 15 116 12

2. Schrader, Reallexicon der ind. Altertumskunde, p. 52-53.

3. Weber, Ind. St. IX, 48; Zimmer, Alt. Leben, p. 319f; cf. also Kaegi, Der Rgveda VI, 49; Ludwig, RV. VI, 142; Pischel, Vedische Studien, 2, 48. 4. VI. 5. 10. 3 5. IV. 6. 4 (85, 3).

यत् स्त्राणीं रिक्षन्ति न दास्यन् तस्मात् पुमान् दायाद् स्त्रदायादाऽथ यत् स्त्राणीं परास्यन्ति न दास्यन् तस्मात् स्त्रियं जातां परास्यन्ति न पुमांसम्; the last sentence in 4, 7, 9 (p. 104, 20) also. 6. XXVII, 9: same statement as before.

7. For the original in German, see ZDMG, vol. 44, p. 495.

against 'Parā-as' meaning 'to expose', the same scholar publishes the fragment of a letter from Prof. Roth who regrets, on his reading Delbrueck's *Die indische Verwandtschaftsnamen*, that the seed of this error was planted by him in the Dictionary under As with Parā.¹ Boehtlingk also says that Delbrueck was pleased with, and had nothing to say against, his article.² Jolly also accepts the view of Boehtlingk in his excellent work "Recht und Sitte"³. The Vedic Index⁴ also accepts Boehtlingk's view. Schrader,⁵ however, is not satisfied with the explanation of Boehtlingk, and thinks that in common with other Aryan people ancient Indians also practised female infanticide. Boehtlingk⁶ is justly sympathetic when he says "It hurt me to attribute to the ancient Indians such a piece of barbarism," but gives us sound reason later on. "Then I thought the matter in itself was very improbable, because without a girl the highest blessing of an Indian, viz. the begetting of a son, could not be achieved. As the lifting up of a boy after his birth is to be considered as an expression of joy, so is it easy to presume by Parāsyanti a corresponding expression of disagreeable surprise". There is no doubt that the verb "parāsyanti" and "ud haranti" express contraries. Āśvalāyana⁷ uses the verb "ud hr̥" in the sense of 'lifting up' when he says "noddharet prathamam pātram", etc; 'Yadā vā tu uddhṛtam

1. Op. cit., p. 1. 2. Op. cit., p. 1. 3. P. 78,
1. 18-21. 4. Vol. I 5. Reallexicon der ind. Alterumskunde,
p. 153. 6. ZDMG, vol. 44, p. 7. See
Trivandrum Edition. 1.8 and 10.

pātram", etc; here, too, this verb in the passages in question means the same. The text in the Taittirīya clearly says the boy is lifted up (ut pumāmsam haranti) and therefore as a contrary action the girl would be deposited, be kept on the ground and not thrown away; this is only in keeping with the comparison given—the Soma vessels are lifted up and as a contrary action the cooking vessels are allowed to stay on the ground and evidently are not thrown away. These sacrificial utensils are held as pure and are the last objects in the possession of the sacrificer to be thrown off.

The passage in the Maitrāyaṇī-saṃhitā seems to have been quoted by Yāska in his Nirukta.¹ Durga² in his Rjvartha says expressly अथ यत् स्थालीं परास्यन्ति हवनकर्मणो न तया जुह्वति न दारुमयं परास्यन्ति हवनकर्मणो दारुमयेनैव जुह्वति तस्मात् स्त्रियं जार्ता परास्यन्ति परस्मै प्रयच्छन्ति न पुमांसम् i.e. so as the cooking vessel is deposited, in the offering of oblations no offering is made with it and the wooden vessel is not deposited, in the offering of oblations offerings are made with the wooden vessel only,—the daughter born is given away to others and not the son. Skandasvāmin³ also gives a similar interpretation. Sāyaṇa also understands by स्त्रियं परास्यन्ति वरकुले परित्यजन्ति. The learned commentators do all think that the daughter is given away and evidently, given away to her husband's family and this act is symbolically performed after the birth of the daughter by handing her over to a

1. See p. 60, Sarup's edition; III, 4.
 2. Durga's commentary on Nirukta, Bom. Ed., p. 255, 13, 5.
 3. Commentary, ed. by L. Sarup. p. 128, 1.

third person. In their opinion, female infanticide is out of the question. This Parāsana simply shows much anxiety, even from her birth, of the parents to do the best service to their daughter—to make her happy in marriage and nothing more than that. This simply shows that the parents were saddened at heart at the remembrance of the painful day when they would be compelled to be robbed of their beloved treasure by the bridegroom as Bāṇabhaṭṭa has so beautifully put it in both the Harṣa-carita and the Kādambarī. The question of her future happiness also weighed heavily with them. Viṣṇuśarman has excellently given vent to this parental worry in his Mitrabheda, 28. 6— पुत्रीति जाता महतीह चिन्ता कस्मै प्रदेयेति महान्वितर्कः । दत्ता सुखं प्राप्स्यति वा न वेति कन्यापितृत्वं खलु नाम कष्टम् ॥ The Kathāsaritsāgara is the unequivocal champion of the cause of women¹ and when it states—शोककन्दः क्व कन्या हि क्वानन्दः कायवान् सुतः (28. 6.), it simply repeats the above idea. Kālidāsa expresses this sentiment of parents, probably, most beautifully:—अर्थो हि कन्या परकीय एव तामय संप्रेष्य परिग्रहीतुः । जातो ममायं विशदः प्रकामं प्रत्यर्पितन्यास इवान्तरात्मा ॥

It will also be seen in this connection that at the time and in the place where these Texts were composed females, probably, exceeded the males in number. The Maitrāyaṇī² qualifies the Parāsana of the daughter with the statement “Striya eva atiricyante”. The Tait. Samh. says one man can very well have two wives but not one woman two

1 E. g. 28. 47 ff. 2. MSamh 4. 6. 4 (p. 84, l.4); 4. 7. 9 (p. 104).

husbands. How could the females supersede the males in number if female infanticide had been the custom?

Schrader's² remark that the Greeks also practised exposition is distinctly opposed to the theory of Cook,³ who fights out his cause to show that the current idea as to exposition is "totally unfounded." Schrader⁴ again gives us an analogy in favour of his theory that the old were also exposed. Analogy is no valid proof. Moreover, the reference in AV. XVIII. 2.34 is to the dead men, and not to the old; as regards Praskaṇva on whom Parśadvana took pity (RV. VIII, 51, 2. Vālakhilya III, 2) it is only to be supposed that Praskaṇva was expelled for some crime or other and in his exile he grew old and decrepit. The exposure of the old is quite incompatible with the repeatedly mentioned wish of the Vedic people to live the full extent of life (i.e. 100 years).

The Nirukta⁵ holds that the excellent Vedic Mantra "You are produced from each and every limb, you are born from the heart; verily, you are the Self named son; so may you live hundred years" is applicable equally to both the

1. VI, p. 6. 4; यदेकास्मिन् यूषे ह्ये रसने (स्त्री) परिव्यवति तस्मादिको ह्ये जाये विन्दते; यन्नं कां रसनां द्वयोर्यूषयोः परिव्यति, तस्मान्नैको द्वौ विन्दते। 2. Reallexicon, p. 153. 3. Zeus, Vol. 2, p. 1229.

4. Cf. his article "Alte Laute", p. 39, where he refers to Zimmer, Alt, Leben, p. 328. 5. II, 4; p. 60, Sarup's edition.

The Nirukta quotes this verse in connection with Female Inheritance. This mantra is recited by every Vedic school during the Jātakarma and the Proṣyāgatakarma. अङ्गादङ्गात् स तोऽसि हृदयादघजायसे।

त्वं वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदां शतम्॥

children and no distinction is to be made whatsoever. Durga¹ in his Rjvartha says as the same rite is observed for the daughter as well as the son and they both are born from each and every limb and the heart, no distinction is to be made, i.e., they are equal. Manu² says the son is equal to one's self and the daughter is equal to the son and repeats the same view emphatically when he says the son's son and the daughter's son have no difference³ with respect to worldly matters as well as to sacred religious observances and no distinction is to be made between them as the daughter's son is equally fit to save the grand-father (and therefore, the grand-mother too) in the other world like the son's son.⁴ Bhīṣma also declares the son is just the same as the daughter—they are both one's very self.⁵ In xiii. 47. 25f., the Mahābhārata again declares the daughter equal to the son. The Law Literature also advocates the same opinion specially stating that both are born of the same limbs and have reasonably the same rights over paternal property.⁶

1. Bhadkamkar's Ed., vol. I. p. 254, 1.5-7. तथैव सति यथैव
 पुमान् अङ्गादङ्गात् सम्भवति हृदयाच्चाधिजायते तथैव दुहितापौत्रविशेष
 उपपद्यते ॥ 2. IX, 130; यथेवात्मा तथा पुत्रः पुत्रेण दुहिता समा
 p. 362, 1.18, Nirṇaya-sāgara Ed. 3. IX, 133, op. cit., p. 263,
 l.4; cf. Yajn. II, 128. 4. Manu, IX, 139; p. 364, l. 10-11. 5.
 MBh. XIII. 45. 11. 6. Cp. no distinction between son's sons
 and daughter's sons; Manu IX. 13 and Viṣṇu XV. 47.
 पौत्रदौहित्रयोर्लोकं विशेषो नोपपद्यते । दौहित्रोऽपि ह्यपुत्रं तं सन्तारयति
 पौत्रवत् See also Nārada, xiii. 50; Brhaspati, xv. 55f; Yājñavalkya
 2. 135f.; Viṣṇu xvii. 7f; the daughter and the son are born of the
 same limbs and therefore, equal.

Thus we see that the daughter has in no way a less honoured or responsible position than the son in Vedic Ritual. The parents long to get her and perform all the Saṃskāras for her as for the son. She has the same rights as the son to wear family locks, to have the upanayana, to utter the Vedic mantras together with the Praṇava and to perform all the rites in relation to her parents. The son, has, no doubt, precedence over her in several rituals, particularly the Antyeṣṭi, but this is because she is to care more for her husband's family than her parents' and cannot be supposed to have as much privilege as the son. Moreover, she belongs to the gotra of her husband after the Caturthī-karma for which privilege and honour she pays to Agni and performs various domestic rites, the Mother-Instinct being supreme in her. This principle is pronounced remarkably in the fact that the younger sister has precedence over her if the former is unmarried. In case of her death before marriage, the same rights are performed as for the son; but if she is married, her own people do everything for her; still the ceremonial shows that her parental connection is also much cared for. In matrimonial affairs she is as free as the son and has the same rights as he. Nowhere does the Vedic Ritual ignore her importance. On the contrary, the unmarried daughter—Purity, Affection and Bliss embodied—seems to be more important than the son with regard to the welfare of the parents. Anyway, the hypothesis enunciated by Manu and other authorities

meaning "Putreṇa duhitā samā" remains true and declares the glory of the Creator who does not make any distinction between His sons and daughters.

It is quite in keeping with the above spirit of the Vedic Religion that the Vedic seers as well as the Smārtas offer the daughter a substantial share, if not an equal share, with her brother in the property of the father.

A daughter (having brother) in her unmarried state is found claiming her share in her father's estate during the the early Vedic period.¹ According to some school as quoted in the Nirukta,² the daughter is entitled to half the property of her father, her brother being entitled to the other half. Yāska in this connection quotes as the authority of this school³ the well known Vedic verse as quoted above⁴ as well as another verse refering to the opinion of Manu.⁵ Even at a later period the same spirit prevails in as much as Śukra in his Smṛti advocates that if the father divides his property during his life-time, he should do so amongst his sons, wife, daughters and daughters' sons. He should give the daughters half the property, of which one half should go again to her children.⁶ If the property is

1. 2. 17. 7, अमाजूरिव पित्रोः सचा सती समानादा सदसस्त्वामिधे भगम् । कृषि प्रकृतमुप मास्या भर दद्धि भागं तन्वी धेन मामह ॥

2. Nirukta, 3. 4. 3. अविशिषेण मिथुना पुत्रा दद्यादा इति, तदेतद्वक्-श्लोकाभ्यामुक्तम् । 4. अङ्गादङ्गात् स्रुतोऽसि, etc.

5. अविशिषेण पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः । मिथुनानां विसर्गादौ मनुः स्वायम्भुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥ 6. Śukra-Smṛti, 4. 5.299:—समानभागा वै कार्याः पुत्राः स्वस्य च व स्त्रियः । स्वभागाध्वरा कन्या दौहित्रस्तु तदर्धभाक् ॥

not divided during the life time of the father and is, therefore, subsequently subdivided among the inheritors after his demise, the brothers should get less than half, as the mother gets one-fourth of the property and more than that goes to the sister.¹ Viṣṇu² and Nārada³ also uphold this view with the amendment that only unmarried daughters are entitled to their fathers' shares. Even in later times the law-givers⁴ ordained one-fourth share for the daughter, as her brothers must spend this for her marriage.

Again, in the Vedic period, a daughter without a brother could be adopted as a Putrikā in which case she practically became a son. That is why Vasiṣṭha⁵ mentions the "Putrikā" as the third in the list of inheritors in his Dharma-sāstra. A Putrikā is met with in subsequent times as well. Jayāpīḍa's wife Kalyāṇadevī was looked upon as the Putrikā of her father. As the daughter could be substituted as son, an adopted son during the Vedic age was hardly a necessity. From the religious point of view as well, the son of a daughter is as good as that of a

1. Op. cit. 300:—सुताधिपे तु पुत्राद्या उक्त-भागहाराः स्मृताः ।
मात्र दद्यात्तुशेषं भगिन्यै मातुरधिकम् ॥

2. 17. 4. मातरः पुत्रभागानुवारेण भागहारिण्यः । अनुदा दुहितरश्च ।

3. 13. 3. ज्येष्ठायशोषिकी देयः कनिष्ठाश्रवरः स्मृतः । समांशभाजः
शेषाः सुप्रपत्ता भगिनौ तथा ॥

4. Yājñavalkya 2. 124 अस्मृतास्तु संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिः पूर्वसंस्कृतैः ।
भगिन्यश्च निजादंशाद्वांशं तु तुरीयकम् ॥ See also Manu 9. 118; Smṛti-
candrikā, Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa, p. 625.

5. 17. 15

son as both can perform all the obsequial ceremonies for their grand-father with equal right and credit.¹ The R̥gveda² bears a record of the inheritance of a daughter without brother; this principle has been adhered to in the Mahābhārata³ as well as several Smṛtis⁴ and the Artha-Sāstra of Kauṭilya.⁵

The MBh. (xii. 33. 45) declares outright that the daughters will be entitled to become rulers if there be no sons.

We have seen before that women were the seers of the hymns of the R̥gveda⁶ and were Brahmvādinīs; as late as

1. Śaṅkha:—पौत्र दौहित्रयोर्लोके विशेषो नीपपद्यते । दौहित्रोऽपि ह्युषं तं सन्तारयति पौत्रवत् 2. 1. 124. 7—अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गतांश्चिव सनये धनानाम् । 3. 13. 80. 11—यथैवात्मा तथा पुत्रः पुत्रेण दुहिता समा । तस्यामात्मनि तिष्ठन्तर्गां कथमन्यो धनं हरेत् ॥ दुहिताऽन्यव जाताहि पुत्रादपि विशिष्यते ॥

4. Yājñavalkya, 2. 135; Bṛhaspati, 2.5.55; Nārada, 13. 50. Vasiṣṭha 15. 7; Gautama 5. 28. 21; Manu IX. 185; daughter altogether excluded, Āpastamba, 2. 14. 2-4: the claim of the daughter is rather thwarted back, 6. 3-5.

6. घोषा गोषा विश्ववारा अपालोपनिषन्निषत् । ब्रह्मजाया जङ्गुनीम अगस्थस्य स्वसाऽदितिः ॥ इन्द्राणौ चेन्द्रमाता च सरमा रोमशोर्वशी । लोपासुद्रा च नदश्च यमौ नारी च शश्वती ॥ और्लक्ष्मीः सार्पराज्ञौ वाक् अश्वा मेधा च दक्षिणा । रात्रौ सूर्या च सावित्री ब्रह्मवादिन्य ईरिताः । नवकः प्रथमस्तापं वगं तुष्टाव देवताः ॥ ऋषिभिर्देवताभिश्च समूदे मध्यमो गणः ॥ आत्मनो भाववृत्तानि जगौ वगंस्तथोत्तमः । उत्तमस्य तु वगस्य य ऋषिः सैव देवता ॥ आत्मानमस्त्रौर्गस्तु देवतां यस्तथोत्तमः । तस्मादात्मस्त्वेषु स्याद्य ऋषिः सैव देवता ॥ संवादेऽवाह वाक् यः स तु तस्मिन् भवेदृषिः । यस्तेनोच्येत वाक्तेन देवता ततः सा भवेत् । Bṛhad-devatā, 2, 82-88.

the Upaniṣadic period women scholars proved equal to the sages of outstanding fame like Yājñavalkya in public debates.¹ Women of this age e.g. Maitreyī, wife of Yājñavalkya—quite in keeping with their Vedic learning, aptly declared that they cared for nothing else than the Highest knowledge.² Women are born students of theology; the two daughters of Dākṣāyaṇa are typical examples.³ The keen interest of women in theology is also manifest from the Therīgāthā where they are found sworn to attain Nirvāṇa at any cost.⁴ The Mahābhāṣya shows that women attained fame as Mīmāṃsakas or theologians as well; the lady specialists of the Kāśakṛtsna came to be known as Kāśakṛtsnās.⁵ The Mahābhāṣya specifically mentions the group of women grammari-

1. Brhad-āraṇyaka, 3.6.

2. मैत्रेयीति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्य उद्यास्यन् वा अरेऽहमस्मात् स्थानादस्मि कृन्तुं तेनया कातायन्याऽन्तं करवाण्येति । सा होवाच मैत्रेयी वनं म इयं भगोः सर्वां पृथिवीं वित्तं न पृथुं स्यात् कथं तेनामृता स्यामिति । नेति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः...सा होवाच मैत्रेयी येनाहं नामृता स्यां किमहं तेन कुर्यां यदेव भगवान् वेदं तदेव मे ब्रूहोति । Brh. up 2. 4. 1-14 and 4. 5. 1-15.

3. Bhāgavata-purāṇa, 4. 1. 64. 3. For an account of these Buddhist Poetesses, see Sanskrit Poetesses, Part I, Vol. II of my Series Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature,

4. Mahābhāṣya IV. 1. 14; 3. 155.

5. एवमपि काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मौमांसा—काशकृत्स्नी, काशकृत्स्नीमधीते—काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणौ, अत्र प्राप्नोति ॥ महाभाष्य, Vol. 4, p. 44; see also लघुशब्द-सुशेखर, Vol. I, p. 550, अतएव काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्तां मौमांसामधीते “काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणौ” इत्येवमपि न डोप् । काशकृत्स्नि was a well-known grammarian as well; cp. इन्द्रचन्द्रः काशकृत्स्नापिशलिः शाकटायनः । पाणिन्यमरजैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यधौ हि शाब्दिकाः ॥

ans called Āpisaḥs.¹ The Grammar also records the proficiency of women scholars in the Kāṭha and R̥g-veda; they were known as Kāṭhīs and Bahvṛcīs.² Ubhayabhārati was a champion scholar in theology.³ Sulabhā was so learned that she could teach even Janaka.⁴ She could not be married as no male was her equal; she was, therefore, initiated to the utmost bounds of knowledge and became a lonely ascetic.⁵ Women were not only themselves good singers and dancers as is evidently seen from the Patnī-sāmans or wives' songs which were compulsory in Vedic Rituals⁶ but they were also

1. Vārtika—पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वाऽपिशलमधीते इति Mahābhāṣya—आपिशलमधीते ब्राह्मणी—आपिशला ब्राह्मणीः अन्तादित्तीकारो मा भूदिति ॥ महाभाष्य Vol. 4, p. 43, 4. 1. 1. See also लघुशब्द-न्दुशेखर, Vol. I, p. 551, “एवञ्च ‘आपिशला’ इत्याद्यण्यस्यैव व्यावर्त्यम्” For reference to आपिशलि, see Pāṇini's sūtra, वा सुषापिशले 16-1-92.

2. सिद्धान्तकौमुदी, p. 128, पूर्वार्ध 518, under Sūtra जातेरस्त्रीविषयाद्योपधात्—Pāṇini 4. 1. 63... गोवँ च चरणैः सहः । कठौ, बह्वचौ । After commenting upon the word बह्वचौ, ज्ञानेन्द्रसरस्वती makes a significant remark here—‘यद्यपि स्त्रीणामध्ययनं प्रतिषिद्धं, न तथापि पुराकल्पे तदासीत्, तद्-ह यमः etc. 128. see also p. 591, part I of the लघुशब्द-न्दुशेखर ।

3. शङ्करदिग्विजय, viii. 51, विषयभार्यां विदुषीं, etc.

4. MBh. XII. 320.

5. Verse 183. The Jain Literature records that Jayanti, daughter of King Sahasrāṇika of Kauśāmbi, did not marry as she wanted to be wedded to Religion and Philosophy; Bhagavati Sūtra, Gujrati edition, Vol. III. p. 257.

6. The dance of women was a normal and pleasant affair in certain rituals; e.g. the wedding ceremony. Four or eight women, certainly maidens of the family, had to dance in it. (ŚāṅkG. 1. 11. 5) They sang (gāthās) in weddings and other Vedic rituals;

connoisseurs of these arts. Thus, by singing and dancing, gods are said to have won over the goddess of speech and disappointed the demons who did not know the art of winning over women.

Even in subsequent ages women have not contributed a little to the various branches of Indian learning.¹ If the country would have provided all the facilities to women as in the Vedic ages throughout the long history of Indian Civilization, the fate of the country would have been quite otherwise. In all ages we could have expected many *Ghoṣās*, *Viśvavārās*, *Śīlā Bhaṭṭārikās*, *Prāṇamañjarīs*, *Lakṣmī-devīs* and so on. *Asahāya*, commentator of the *Nārada-smṛti*, has rightly remarked that the inferiority of women (in subsequent ages) is due to the suppression of their educational facilities — शास्त्राध्ययनानधिकारित्वाच्छास्त्रमात्रोपजीविधर्मो धर्मज्ञानाभावाद्-स्वातन्त्र्यम् । When one looks at the long series of the works of women that have survived the ravages of time¹, one cannot but sigh very long for the travesty of fate India dragged the *Patni-sāmans* or wives' song had a recognized position. The *Śat Brā.* XIV. 3. 1. 35. says explicitly—पत्नीकर्मव तेनैव कुर्वन्ति यदुद्गाताः । Even in the postvedic period, much importance is attached to the skill of woman in Music and Art. Of the 64 arts described in the *Kāma-Sūtra*, the most important are Music and Dance (1.5.16). Heroines in Sanskrit dramas are very clever in singing. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* specifically states that society girls used to dance before a select audience. The *Kāma-sūtra* (U. 1) shows that girls used to go to dramatic concerts, etc. with their elders or lovers.

1. For a long list of these learned women scholars and seers, see the volumes published in my Series No. I, *The Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature*.

herself into by minimising the position of her women and curtailing their educational facilities.

A question at once arises: What are the causes that led to the deterioration in the position of women?

Because of the development of the caste-system (a solitary reference to which is found in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* of the *Ṛg-veda*) throughout the Vedic and postvedic periods till it reached the most astonishing complications in the *Smṛtis*, the social and personal freedom of women had to be curtailed. After all, love knows no law and the women in the *Upaniṣadic* period even were very learned. A learned woman falling in love with somebody of the prohibited caste could not but marry him and co-education did not play an insignificant part in it.¹ In early periods of the development of the caste-system, social leaders used to frighten such learned ladies with tortures in hell, not only for herself but also for her agnates and cognates inclusive of her parents. In spite of these social regulations learned women, to whom their love meant their whole existence, did not, certainly, go by the ideal superimposed upon them. And necessarily, the patrons of religion, who were dwarfed in divinity only by an earthly existence, had to stifle them to a staggering death by slowly tightening the rope of violent injunctions.

1. Thus, *Ātreya* was a class-mate of *Lava* and *Kuśa*, vide *Uttara-Rāma-carita*, Act II; *Kāmandakī* was a class-mate of *Bhūriवासु* and *Devarāta*. In big hermitages, venerable sages certainly used to teach the male and female students together. Again, girl-students often resided with the family of a teacher the same number of years as the boys; cf. *Ambā's* residence with the *Śaikhāvatyas*.

Scholars have reasonably suspected that the joint family system is a later development. There is no trace of it in the early Vedic period. Formerly, sons as well as daughters left the parents after marriage; but now when the joint family system developed, only daughters had to leave their parents after marriage. Sons, as members of the family, contributed to its welfare or suffered the same fate as the family might be driven to. Daughters had not to bother about the parent's family after the full-fledged development of the joint family system. So the daughter was considered a lesser necessity.

The increasing difficulties of giving the daughters in marriage owing to the development of rigorous caste-system and joint-family system brought about economic difficulties not known before. Economic cause played no insignificant part in determining the position of women in subsequent ages. In ancient India, there was no reason for the excessive worry of parents; no fear of unwanted life-long miseries on account of interminable widowhood, no anxiety for obligatory marriage within a limited number of years, nothing of the sort. A woman's life was as free as that of a man. The passages that breathe of anxieties on the part of parents simply show that the daughters, as natural, were objects of great care and affection.¹ Matters, however, became quite different in subsequent ages.

1. Janaka's anxiety for Sitā; Rāmāyaṇa, II. 119. 35-36; Cf. Kaṇva's anxiety for Śakuntalā in the Abhijñānaśakuntala.

CHAPTER II

The Chief Wife In The Vedic Ritual

The first wife only is the *patnī* in the fullest sense of the term. She is the *dharmapatnī* while even the second wife (and naturally all other wives) is meant for sexual satisfaction only: a second wife is entitled to no unseen (*adr̥ṣṭa*) religious merit.¹ A man having several wives is required to observe his religious duties with first wife only; preference is however, sometimes given to the *savarṇā* wife so much so that even though she may be the youngest, he will observe religious duties with her and in case the *savarṇā*, be she the youngest, is not present or unable to attend, the claim would devolve upon one coming from the class immediately lower. A *Sūdrā* wife is always to be excluded by a *Brāhmaṇa*.² According to *Manu*³ it is the first wife who is to attend personally and help the husband in his daily religious rites; he cannot show preference to other wives in these matters for fear of being a *Caṇḍāla Brāhmaṇa*. The *Karmakāṇḍa-pradīpa*⁴ also says that only the first wife has the *adhikāra*. Disparagement of marriages other than the first is expressed in the fact that during the second and following marriages, the polygamist is to marry a pitcher (*kumbha*)⁵ or some such thing. According to *Yājñavalkya*, too, the religious rites should be performed with the first wife of the same caste,

1. *Dakṣa-saṃhitā*, IV, 14, *Smṛ. Sam.* p. 79, I 19 (*Una Sam.* IV, 15, p. 428 प्रथमा धर्मपत्नी च द्वितीया रतिवर्धिनी । दृष्टमेव फलं तत्र नादृष्टमुपजायते ॥ 2. *Viṣṇu* XXVI, 1-4, *Una. Sam.* p. 66, II, 8 f.

3. *Manu* IX, 85-86. 4. *F.* 149b, I. 9 f. 5. *Op. cit.*, p. 150 f.

not with others.¹ Rites observed for the highest religious merit or salvation are to be observed with the first wife.² Highest results (such as obtaining heaven, etc.) may be achieved only if the rite is performed along with the first wife.³ The wife first married is to be considered as the eldest, not the one who is the oldest of the lot;⁴ the Śat. Br.⁵ says she is the consecrated consort.

Even though other wives are allowed to join in the sacrifice, it is the first wife who performs all the important rites. In the Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi she trims the fire,⁶ husks and pounds the rice.⁷ After the Patnīsannahana (girding with the yoktrapāśa) and Gārhapatyopasthāna the wives are required to sit to the north of the Gārhapatya; the Mukhyapatnī occupies the seat exactly to the north, i.e. the best seat while other wives take their seats somewhere to the north of the

1. Yājñ. I, 88, सत्यामन्यां सवर्णायां धर्मकाये न कारयेत् । सवर्णास्तु विधौ धर्मं जेष्टया न विनैतरतः ॥ cf. Śān. ŚS. vol. II, p. 54, II. 4-5.

2. Sat. ŚS. vol. I, p. 160, I. 21. पराशानि etc."

3. Op. cit., I, 22 "सकृत्कृत" etc"

4. Sat. ŚS. vol. III, p. 695, I 3 ज्येष्ठत्वं विवाह-कृतं न तु वयस्कृतम् ।

5. VI. 5, 3, 1; p. 541. I. 6, Weber's Ed.

6. Āp. ŚS. I, 6, 12; vol. I p. 23.

7. Of course, there is provision here that she might be replaced by a Śūdrā in pounding. However, no strict regularity seems to be observed in husking or pounding. See Sat. ŚS., p. 132, II. 17 f.; Āp. ŚS., I, 21, 9. According to Āp. ŚS., op. cit., a Śūdra is to pound if the rice is to be pounded again; "Anena punaspeṣaṇe dāsyā niyamo varṇyate." If for some reason or other the wife could not be present the Agnidhra or some other priest might do this for the wife; Sat. ŚS. p. 132, I. 23; Āp. ŚS., I, 20, 13; 70.

Gārhapatya, no doubt, but at a distance from the first wife.¹ After the Patnīsaṃyāja the chief is to eat the Idā² If simultaneously God-speed is to be wished now for the husband and the wife, it should be desired for the chief wife³ only. Towards the close of the sacrifice the kuśa grass is removed from the lap of the wife and the cord with which she was girded is loosened; according to the Sāṅkhāyana school,⁴ only the first wife is to observe these rites. During the utterance of the Saṃpatnīya it is the first wife who is to touch the husband as this act is meant for "Parārtha or Supreme Bliss."⁵

In the Agnyādhāna and the Agnihotra only the first wife, so long as she is living, is entitled to participate. The newly-married couple establish the sacred fires and observe the Agnihotra in the same fire till the end of the life of one of them. If the first wife is dead, the widower may marry and establish the fires again. But in no case, after the Agnyādhāna, should the first wife be deprived of her right of participating in the Agnihotra, even if she be deficient in religious performance or in procreation. On account of her

1. Sat ŚS., Vol. I p. 161, I. 7. यथाप्रदेशं सुख्यपद्मपवेशनं समीप इतरासां तामेव दिशमवलम्ब्य व्यवधानेन etc. 2. Baudh. ŚS., p. 30, II. 16.

3. Cf. Sat. Br., I, 9, 2, 14; Weber's Ed., p. 90, II. 14.

4. I, 15, 10; see Comm. on the same, vol. II. p. 54. According to other authorities, however, all the wives are to observe those rites as they do not think these are meant for Parārtha; Sat. ŚS., Vol. I, p. 228 pratipatni vedādānāditi gamyate.

5. Sat. ŚS., Vol. I, p. 223, II. 23-24 "Parārthāny ekena iti," etc.

assistance in the kindling of the fires she has been for her life associated with and given to the service of these fires.¹ The fires are inseparable from her; so long as she is in the house, they are there; when she goes with her husband to a foreign place, they move with her.² So long as the husband lives without his wife and consequently, without the fires, be it even in the next village, it is nothing but living in a foreign land but when the wife and her constant companions, the Fires, go with him, even the most distant land will not be considered as such (*pravāsa*).³ If in any case the wife does not go with him, he must go without the fires and when he comes back he offers oblations to them but in order that they may be thoroughly pleased, he is to please the wife with his look.⁴

Before the Agnihotra actually begins, the wife cleanses the surrounding areas of the fires;⁵ from the beginning to the end of the sacrifice she remains sitting to the south or the south-east of the *Gārhapatya* fire.⁶ There can be

1. *Ap.*, II, 5, 11, 13f; see the Scholiast in particular; *Manu* V, 167-168; *Yāj.* I, 89. 2. Cf. *Sat. ŚS.* vol. I, p. 161.

3. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 358, I. 2; *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 541, I. 16.

4. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 534, I. 27.

5. *Āp. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 322, I. 20, Scholiast on 6. 3. 1.

6. *Āp. ŚS.*, VI, 5, 2, vol. I, p. 328, II. 15-17, cf. *Śān. ŚS.*, 2,

7. "Behind the *Gārhapatya*".

no substitute for the first wife in the Agnihotra; nevertheless, she must be present or be considered as virtually present in her shed.¹ Whenever the husband offers oblation, he does so for both of them.² Towards the end of the sacrifice water-libations are offered to the Sarpadevajana, Bhūta and Mahat with either three ladlefuls of water or in three portions from the same ladleful;³ the sacrificer then takes another ladleful of water or offers with the remaining portion of the water. Of this water he pours half on Earth and the other half he pours into the hands of the wife. In case of her absence from the sacrifice on account of unavoidable circumstances the whole quantity of the fourth ladleful or of the fourth portion of the same ladleful according to Bharadvāja, is to be twice poured, upon the seat of the wife or the Earth. In no case should this water be poured into the hands of any other wife.⁵ The object of this pouring is to pray for domestic bliss and

1 Compare the remark of the Scholiast on *Āp. SS.*, VI, 5, 1, vol. I, p. 328. II. 12-13.

2 *Sat. SS.*, vol. II, p. 529. "Vratabhṛd ahaṃ nāv ubhayor vratam carīṣyāmi, etc." The same spirit is remarkably seen in the Vājapeya, too; cf. "Patni! svargam rohāvaḥ, etc."

3 *Sāṅh. SS.*, 2, 10, 5 "Traidham karoti"; *Sat. SS.*, vol. I, p. 354. *Āp. SS.*, VI, 12, 4-5; vol. I, pp. 343-44. The W.Y.V. ritual, however, does not refer to this rite; cf. p. 304, Chow. Ed., Sūtras 341-42.

4 Scholiast on *Sat.*, *SS op. cit.*

5 *Sat. SS.*, vol. I, p. 354, II. 20 f. "न च यजमानपत्नीसंस्कारोऽयं द्वितीयादिश्रुतेरश्रवणादत एव न प्रतिपत्ति विभज्य निनयनं...सर्वग्रहणाच्च प्रतिपत्त्यावृत्तिनिरासार्थम्"; similarly, Scholiast on *Sāṅkhāyana* 2, 10, 6, "Ekavacanaṃ ca vivakṣitam, etc."

triumph for and by the wife;⁶ no other wife than the first is ever entitled to be the mistress of the house.

At the end of the evening oblation the wife together with her husband should observe silence and fast till darkness has set in.⁷

As in the Vaiśvadeva, so in the Varuṇapraghāṣas, it is the first wife who should husk the barley, and deposit the husk for the Avabhṛtha.⁸ She should make the Karambhapātras out of the barley-powder which she should herself make of unfried barley.⁹ Some schools, however, empower her to husk the barley on the previous day, fry them a bit on the Anvahāryapacana, pound them and make Karambhapātras out of the powder.¹⁰ As a rule, the Adhvaryu and the Pratiprasthātr make a ram and a ewe respectively with their sex marks made prominent.¹¹ But according to the Vājasaneyā Ritual¹² the wife should, after having made the Karambhapātras, make the ram and the ewe, too, of the barley similarly fried and powdered. These rites should be observed by the chief wife alone as these are by no means Strisamskāras; moreover, in making the ram and

6 Cf. the Mantra "Grhebhyaḥ tvā gṛhān jinva", *B*, IV.; "Saṃ tvā sṛjāmi prajāyā dhanena" iti, *RV*.

7 *Āśv. SS.*, III, 12, 9, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 50 and 25a.

8 Scholiast on *Āp. SS.*, VIII, 5, 40, vol. II, p. 28.

9 According to several authorities the husband also participates in this; e.g. *Sat SS.*, p. 463, I. 16-21.

10 *Āp. SS.*, VIII, 6, 3, vol II, p. 29; Scholiast, II. 10 f.

11 *Baudh. SS.*, I, p. 136, II, 1-16; *Sat SS.*, p. 462, II. 28-31.

12 As quoted in *Āp. SS.*, VIII, 6, 4, vol. II, pp. 29-30; cf. *Baudh. SS.*, vol. I, p. 133, I. 12, also quoted by the Scholiast on *Āp.*, *op. cit.*

the ewe, she is really a substitute of the priests, which other wives cannot be supposed to be. These are Parārthaka rites and as such, only the chief wife should observe them.

After the rite of the declaration of paramours, the wife invokes the Maruts¹³ when she is led by the Pratiprasthātr. She is offered the Karambhapātras¹⁴ in a winnowing basket which she places on her head. Both the sacrificer and the wife¹⁵ now pass between the altars and seat themselves in front of the Dakṣiṇa fire with their faces towards the west. The wife gives these dishes to the sacrificer which he in his turn places on his head.¹⁶ The husband utters the Anuvākya.¹⁷ Then both the husband and the wife offer oblations to the Maruts¹⁸ to expiate their sins which they have incurred either in village or the wild, in company or corporeal sense, etc., the dedicatory formula¹⁹ being

13 *Tait. Saṃh.*, 1, 8, 3, 6; *Vāj. Saṃh.*, III, 44, etc.; *Mān. ŚS.*, 1, 7, 4, 12, p. 55.

14 According to Baudhāyana these dishes should have been given round the fire; *Baudh. ŚS.*, p. 136, ll. 19, "Abhiparyagnikṛtāni."

15 The wife goes out by the south door, *Baudh. ŚS.*, p. 137, ll. 1-2.

16 *Baudh. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, ll. 6-7.

17 *Tait. Saṃh.*, 1, 6, 53, cf. 1, 8, 3 (c); *Vāj. Saṃh.*, III, 46; *Baudh. ŚS.*, p. 136 l. 8.

18 "Praghāsasya Marut devatā", *Sat. ŚS.*, vol II, p. 465, ll. 24-25.

19 *Vāj. Saṃh.*, III, 47; *Kap. Saṃh.*, 1, 7, p. 35, ll. 21-22; etc., *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 465, ll. 21 f. The adhvaryu may perform this for them while they keep on touching him, ll. 26-27 (*Sat. ŚS.*) *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 137, l. 10; *Mān. ŚS.*, 1, 7, 4, 15, p. 55; *Āp. ŚS.*, VIII, 6, 24.

pronounced by both. According to Kātyāyana²⁰ the mistress alone is entitled to observe this rite. The husband and the (chief) wife now offer thanks to priests and praise their bounteous nature in having kindly undertaken and performed the sacrifice with a delightful voice.²¹

In the Avabhr̥tha it is the chief wife who should wash the back of the sacrificer and he should, in his turn, wash her back too.²² They offer their drenched garments to whomsoever they like.²³ The chief wife joins the priests and the sacrificer in the Sun-worship, and in adding fresh fuel to the Āhavanīya fire.²⁴

In the Sākamedha the chief wife cooks the sacrificial food on the Southern Fire and participates later on with all others in eating it.²⁵ In the Traimbaka oblation after the sacrificer and priests, etc., and the maidens have walked round the fires, she lays fuel on and worships the Gārhapatya.²⁶

In the animal sacrifice the chief wife anoints the surface of the sacrificial post while the sacrificer anoints the top of it. She rubs all over the post in order to impart to it lustre without omitting to rub any part of it.²⁷

20 V, 5, 11.

21 *Sat. Br̥.*, II, 5, 2, 29; *Mān. SS.*, 1, 7, 4, 16; *Āp. SS.*, VIII, 6, 25; *Sat. SS.*, p. 465, 1. 28.

22 *Āp. SS.*, VIII. 8. 16.

23 *Āp. SS.*, VIII. 8. 17.

24 Scholiast on *Āp. SS.*, VIII, 8, 18, "Sarvam etat samānaṃ patnyāḥ."

25 *Āp. SS.*, VIII, 10, 10, vol. II, p. 53; *Sat. SS.*, vol. II, p. 473, ll. 5-6 Scholiast "Patnīstrikumārā iti Vaikhānasah".

26 *Sat. SS.*, vol. II, p. 469, I. 28.

27 *Baudh. SS.*, vol. I, p. 114, ll. 6-7.

The prime duty of the wife in this sacrifice is to wipe the organs of the animal so that its soul (literally, the lives here) may rest in peace,²⁸ and this is done by the chief wife.²⁹ Before she proceeds, she, with a water-jar in her hands, worships the Sun.³⁰ During her advance towards the cātvāla the Pratiprasthātr prays for offspring and increase of wealth. Then she propitiates and takes water from the cātvāla. She also recites mantras for propitiating the sacrifice and then wipes each organ of the animal with appropriate mantras.³¹ According to some, she pours the water on the organs and the Adhvaryu wipes them or he pours water and she wipes them. After cleansing the victim, she purifies herself at the pit along with the utterance of a mantra.³²

28 प्राणाप्यायन—“आप्याययति तत्स्थानमभिलक्ष्य अपः प्रक्षिपति ; प्रक्षितोदकस्थानाभिमर्शनम् आप्यायनम्” Scholiast on Satyāśāḍha, vol. II, p. 424, ll. 21 f.

29 Scholiast on Satyāśāḍha, *op. cit.*, Parārthāny ekena kriyerann iti mukhyā eva abhiṣecanam āpyāyanam karoti; similarly, Scholiast on Apastamba (I. 8. 17), vol I, p. 436, II. 17-19.

30 *Baudh. Ś.*, vol. I, p. 118, ll. 7-8; *Mān. ŚS.*, I, 8, 4, 1; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 424, ll. 6 f. “Pūrnapātradhāraṇam ekasyā eva āpyāyanasthatvāt.”

31 *Tait. Saṃh.*, I, 3, 9; *Kat Saṃh.*, III. 6; *Kap. Saṃh.*, II. 13, (pp. 21-22); *Mait. Saṃh.*, I, 2, 16; *Vāj. Saṃh.*, VI. 14-16; *Ap. ŚS.*, VII, 18, 17, vol. I, p. 436, ll. 21 f.; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol II, p. 424; *Man. ŚS.*, I, 8, 4, p. 68; *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 118, ll. 12 f. It remains doubtful who, the sacrificer and the Adhvaryu or the sacrificer and the wife, should use, *Vāj. Saṃh.*, VI, 15-16. For the reasons why the wife should wipe the organs, see *Sat. Brā.*, III, 6, 2, 5.

32 *Vāj. Saṃh.*, VI, 17; *AV.*, VII, 89, 3; *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. ed., p. 398, *Sūtra* 146; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol II, p. 424, II. 16 f.

After the Patnīsamyāja she offers the killer the front leg and the Adhvaryu some front piece.³³ During the idā-bhakṣaṇa the sacrificer first gives the idā to her and she hands it over to the Adhvaryu or some other priest.³⁴ The sacrifice ending, while all others worship the Āhavanīya, she adds fresh fuel to and worships the Gārhapatya.³⁵

In the Agniṣṭoma after the offering called Hiranya-vatī the sacrificer steps into the seven foot-prints of the cow. The wife together with the other wives, the sacrificer and the priests sit round the seventh foot-print wherein a piece of gold is laid. After due offerings the Adhvaryu takes one-third portion of the dust from there and hands it over to the sacrificer with the blessings for the latter's wealth. The sacrificer gives it to the chief wife³⁶ so that she may have wealth ; while it is being given to her she prays that she may not be deprived of wealth. She preserves the dust in her own residence or

33 *Sat. SS.*, *op. cit.* p. 443, ll. 1.

34 *Āp. SS.*, VII, 27, 12, vol. I, p. 463.

35 *Sat. SS.*, *op. cit.*, p. 444, II. 11-12; cf. *Āp. SS.*, VII, 27, 16, vol. I, p. 464, according to which she is to have a wash, worship the Sun and the Āhavanīya.

36 Scholiast on *Āp. SS.*, X, 23, “पत्न्यनेकत्वेऽपि महिष्याः प्रयच्छति निधानार्थत्वात्” similarly, Scholiast on *Sat. SS.*, vol. III, p. 629, ll. 11-12

“निधानार्थत्वादसंस्कारकर्मत्वाच्च” *Baudh. SS.*, p. 170, l. 5. According to the Scholiast on *Kāt. SS.*, sūtras 176-177, p. 449, Chow. ed., the adhvaryu gives her the dust and the Neṣṭr makes her recite the Mantra; *Sat. Brā.*, III, 3, 1, 12; *Tait. Saṃh.*, VI, 1, 8, 5; etc. etc.

in one of the three sheds, viz. Prāgvaṃśa-śālā, Patnī-śālā and Vāhya-śālā.³⁷

It seems only the first wife should hold on to the cart from behind;³⁸ because this is no Patnī-saṃskāra. By this rite the chief wife, as the household gear and as the approver of her husband's gift³⁹ honours the king Soma as a very worthy guest when he is brought forward on a car. While she does so, the Adhvaryu offers the water libations to the guest Soma. Or she may herself with her own hands make the offering or while the priest offers, she may present to the guest the Vaiṣṇava Navakapāla with her own hands.⁴⁰

It is the chief wife who anoints the axles of the Soma-carts;⁴¹ the object is to have children with heroic deeds.⁴² While the Adhvaryu walks out of the hall by the front door with clarified butter taken a second time in four lad-

37 *Sat. SS.*, vol. III, p. 630, ll. 10 f., specially, the Scholiast; *Ap. SS.* X, 23, 10.

38 *Ap. SS.*, X, 30, 5; *Sat. SS.*, p. 652, ll. 8-11; *Baudh. SS.*, VI, 16, vol. I, p. 174, ll. 14-15. "अपः प्रणीयातिथ्यं निर्वपत्य-
न्वारब्धायां पत्न्याम्" *Kāt. SS.*, Chow. ed., sūtra 2, vol. I, p. 463.

39 Cf. *Tait. Saṃh.*, VI, 2, 1.

40 *Ap. SS.*, X, 30, 5-6, vol. II, p. 288, ll. 9 f.; Scholiast "यदि पत्न्या हस्तेन निर्वपस्तदा हस्तोऽग्निहोत्रहवणीधर्मान् लभते" *Sat. SS.*, vol. III, p. 652, ll. 23; 653, ll. 11.

41 Scholiast on *Sat. SS.*, vol. III, p. 695, ll. 28 f. "Mukhyā eva anakti; Scholiast on *Ap. SS.*, XI, 6, 4, vol. II, p. 309 'पत्न्यनेकत्वेऽपि मुख्या उपानक्ति अक्षसंस्कारत्वात्' *Baudh. SS.*, VI, 24, vol. I, p. 184, ll. 12 f.; *Kāt. SS.* VIII, 82 f.; p. 480, ll. 5 ff., Chow. ed.

42 Cf. the Mantra "No viro jāyatām, etc."

lings, the sacrificer's wife is led by the South.⁴³ The Adhvaryu lays down a piece of gold in the right wheel of the southern cart and makes offerings; he pours the residue of clarified butter into her folded palms. According to Baudhāyana,⁴⁴ she mixes half of the dust of the third footprint with it. Then she anoints the right axle of the southern cart with her right hand.⁴⁵ According to Āpastamba⁴⁶ she may anoint this axle twice. Now, in order that she may anoint the axle of the northern car, she is made to walk round by the back of the Gārhapatya fire to the wheel-tracks on the north side. This time, the assistant of the Adhvaryu observes the same rites as the Adhvaryu in the previous case, and pours the residue of clarified butter after his offerings, into her folded palms. According to Baudhāyana she mixes up the remaining dust with it. She anoints and prays for her desired ends.⁴⁷ According to Kātyāyana⁴⁸ she should anoint both the axles simultaneously with both the hands.

During the second pressing she approves of the gifts

43 *Sat. Brā.* III, 5, 3, 13ff., *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. Ed., vol. I, p. 840, II. 6 f. "Dakṣiṇayā dvārā, etc." According to *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 164, I. 12: "Pūrvayā dvārā."

44 *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 184, I. 16, "Atha eteṣāṃ pada-pāṃsūnām, etc." Cf. *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 695, I. 8 "Dvidhāvibhaktasya ekāṃśena."

45 Scholiast on *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, I. 21.

46 *ŚS.*, XI, 6, 5, vol. II, p. 309; see also Sūtra 8 "Sakṛd vā;" cf. Scholiast.

47 *Vāj. Sam.*, V, 17 "Parāg devaśrutau, etc."

48 *ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 480, II. 6-11 ".....Pāṇibhyām...yugapat..."

given by her husband to the priests and others.⁴⁹ In the third pressing, after all the rites up to the filling of the pots have been performed, the chief wife⁵⁰ churns the Soma in the shed for Agnīdhra; then she enters into the Soma-cart by the western door and stays there.⁵¹ She and the sacrificer then carry the purified Soma in the Pūtabhṛt covered by the purifying Kuśa (Pavitra).⁵² According to the scholiast on Kātyāyana,⁵³ she, touched from behind by all other wives, looks at it and addresses Aditya for children, wealth and sinless living.

As the personal attendant of her husband in religious affairs, it is the chief wife who should wash the back of her husband during the final bath (Avabhṛtha).⁵⁴ When she comes back to her own shed she worships the Gārhapatya by laying on the Udumbara fuel which she cleanses beforehand in front of the cow-shed.

Towards the end of the Udanīyeṣṭi, she burns the Kuśa-grasses used therein in the Prāgvaṁśa.⁵⁵

49 *Kāt. ŚS.*, X, 2, 38, Weber's Ed., p. 802; Chow. Ed., p. 570, Sūtra 62; cf. Commentary in Weber.

50 Scholiast on *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. IV, p. 919, ll. 9-10 "पत्नीवहुत्वे

मुख्यैव मथनं पूतभृत्यवनयनञ्च करोति, न तु सर्वाः" The Mantra used in this connection: "अस्मे देवासो वपुषे चिकित्सदिति"

51 *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. Ed., p. 574, ll. 4-5; Weber's Ed., X, 4, 3, p. 807; *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*

52 *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*

53 *ŚS.*, X, 5, 4, Weber's Ed., p. 810, ll. 3 f.; Chow. Ed., p. 577, Sūtra 105. The Mantra: *Vāj. Samh.*, VIII, 5.

54 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. IV, p. 947, ll. 14 f. For the ūha, see Commentary.

55 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. IV, p. 954, ll. 22 g.

According to certain Sākhās of the *W.YV.*, she puts a log of wood on the Gārhapatya fire without the utterance of any mantra⁵⁶ in the Pravargya sacrifice.

In the Agnicayana the first wife makes the Ukhā, the fire-pan to which she prays for offspring; increase of wealth, cattle, horses and also for making the fellows of the sacrificer subject to him.⁵⁷ She also makes from clay Āṣādhā, the invincible brick, and marks it with three lines.⁵⁸

In the Vājapeya, the garland of gold which forms the fee should be worn by the chief wife only, as this is a rite producing highest results. The fee would pave the way of the wife as well as of the sacrificer to Heaven.⁵⁹ After twelve Āpti and Klpti offerings have been offered on the Āhavanīya fire for procuring for the sacrificer all that the twelve months of the year and the six seasons can bestow, the Neṣṭṛ or the Pratiprasthāṭṛ makes the chief wife wear garments of Darbha grass or Caṇḍātaka or Dhara⁶⁰ while the sacrificer wears silken garment.⁶¹

56 Scholiast Devayajvan on *Kāt. SS.*, XXVI, 7, 40, Weber's Ed., p. 1108; Chow. Ed., p. 1042.

57 *Vāj. Sam.*, II, 58; *Mait. Sam.*, 2, 7, 6; *Kāt. Sam.*, 1, 6, 5; *Ap. SS.*, XVI, 4, 5; vol. III, p. 5; *Sat. SS.*, vol. 5, p. 14, ll. 7 f., etc.

58 *Sat. SS.*, vol. V, p. 15, ll. 21-13; *Sat. Brā.*, IV, 5, 3, 1, 4; p. 541, ll. 4-6, Weber's Ed.

59 *Kāt. SS.*, XIV, 5, 36, Weber's Ed., p. 868.

60 *Kāt. SS.*, XIV, 5, 3, Weber's Ed., p. 866.

61 *Sat. SS.*, vol. V, p. 144, l. 2; "Paridhatte" has been explained by the commentators as "Paridhāpayati." For the Mantra she utters: *Vāj. Sam.*, 10, 8; *Tait. Sam.*, I, 7, 9, 1, etc.

The Neṣṭr then leads her to the post against which a ladder having seventeen stairs has been put. The sacrificer now gets ready to mount the post and enquires about her willingness to accompany him.⁶² She replies in the affirmative. Thrice the sacrificer asks and thrice she replies.⁶³ The sacrificer now wishes that he should mount for both of them to which she readily consents. She may herself mount the post if she likes⁶⁴. In this case she should pray similarly as the sacrificer for the success of life by sacrifice and such other things.⁶⁵ Most probably she should stretch her arms, too, to show that she has mounted the top just as the sacrificer does and express herself the joy of approaching the gods and of being capable of becoming immortal and the offspring of Prajāpati. She should also look down to the ground and pray for offspring and increase of wealth.⁶⁶ If she does not accompany her husband, she is looked at by him from above after he has reached the top.⁶⁷ If she accompanies him, he helps her in descending from the post.⁶⁸ It is the

62 *Vāj. Saṃ.*, (Kāṇva rec.) 10, 4, 3; *Tait. Saṃ.*, I, 7, 9, 1; *Sat. Brā.*, 5, 2, 1, 10; *Tait. Brā.*, 1, 3, 7, 2; *Kāt. ŚS.*, XIV, 5, 6; *Āp. ŚS.*, XVIII, 5, 9; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. V, p. 144, ll. 9 f.; *Baudh. ŚS.*, XI, 11, vol. II, p. 80, ll. 2 f., etc.; cf. Hill., Ritlit. p. 142, ll. 31 f.

63 *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, I. 11 "Evaṃ tri."

64 *Op. cit.*, I. 17 "Ubhau vā."

65 For the Mantras, see *Tait. Saṃ.*, I, 7, 9, 1; *Vāj. Saṃ.*, IX, 21 (cf. XXII, 32); *Kāt. Saṃ.*, XIV, 1; *Mait. Saṃ.*, I, 11, 3; *Sat. Brā.*, V, 2, 1, 4; *Āp. ŚS.*, XVIII, 5, 13

66 *Tait. Saṃ.*, I, 7, 9 f.

67 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. V, p. 145, I. 9 "Patnim iti bhāṣyakṛt."

68 *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 80, I. 9.

chief wife who should observe the above rites as it is she who is to propitiate the sacrifice;⁶⁹ it is she only who makes the sacrificer complete by addition of one-half of his own self;⁷⁰ and as he is to achieve heavenly bliss together with her only.⁷¹ She and her husband are one Soul divided into two bodies, not only on this mortal land, but also in heaven—to participate in worldly affairs, in sacrificial matters, in earthly blessings as well as in divine joy.

In the *Pinḍapitryajña* the eldest wife stands on the black deer-skin with her face towards the south-east and husks the paddy in a wooden mortar. She must not sit. She removes the husk by means of a winnowing basket, but does not separate the husked from those which are still not done. She husks them only once.⁷²

Now, to come to the chief queen. The *Mahiṣī* is the consecrated consort; all other wives are meant for sexual pleasure only.⁷³ In the Politico-religious ceremonies, viz. the *Aśvamedha*, *Rājasūya*, *Puruṣamedha* and *Rād-yaajña*, she, properly speaking, performs all the important rites while the “*Bhoginī*” queens are allowed to participate therein as mere companions of the chief queen as it were; the part that they play therein is insignificant.

69 *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 285, II 5 f.;

70 *Op. cit.*, V, 2, 1, 10.

71 *Op. cit.*

72 *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 285, I. 5 f.; *Āp. ŚS.*, I, 8, 10-11, vol. I, pp. 26-27; *ŚŚS.*, IV, 3, 7, vol. I. p. 35; Scholiast, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 170, I, 11; *Āsv. ŚS.*, (*AŚS*) II, 6, 7, p. 68, II. 13-15.

73 *Amarakoṣa*, p. 124, I, 10 “*Kṛtābhiṣekā mahiṣī bhoginyo'nyā nrpa-striyaḥ.*”

At the beginning of the Horse-sacrifice which occurs on the eighth or ninth of the month of Phālguna, the chief queen and the king prepare themselves for ritual observance in the regular way as they do in other sacrifices. They cook for themselves food for breaking fast mixed with clarified butter as well as milk and eat it (in the afternoon) and wash their mouths in a golden bowl.⁷⁴ Then they keep silent and perform Agnihotra in due time. According to Baudhāyana all the queens are allowed to wear silver ornaments⁷⁵ for the occasion; but the chief queen wears several ornaments in addition which signifies her power over man in general.⁷⁶ According to Kātyāyana all the wives should wear golden ornaments.⁷⁷ But the distinctive position of the chief queen is seen in the fact that the one hundred maidens that accompany her must be either daughters⁷⁸ or wives⁷⁹ of kings; while the maidens of the Vāvātā are to be daughters or wives of subordinate Chiefs, or of the Ugras;⁸⁰ those of Parivṛkti, daughters or wives of Charioteers, and those of Pārāgalī, daughters or wives of Revenue Collectors. In the evening they all enter the hall of sacrificial fires by the southern door.⁸¹ After the

74 *Baudh. SS.*, XV, 2, p. 206, II. 7 f.; note particularly "Ubhau" in line 9. Cf. *Ap. SS.*, XX, I, 10 f., vol. III, p. 142.

75 *Op. cit.* XV, 3, p. 206, II. 13-14

76 *Op. cit.*, I. 9.

77 XX, I, 12, Weber, u. 961.

78 *Kāt. SS.*, XX, 1, 13, Weber, p. 961.

79 According to *Baudh. SS.*, cf. p. 228, II. 14 f.; *Ap. SS.*, XX, 15, vol. III, p. 159, I. 8.

80 *Sat. SS.*, vol. 5, p. 237, I. 24 "Ugrāṇām rājadāsabhūtānām śatam Vāvātāyāḥ."

81 Commentary on *Kāt. SS.*, Chow. Ed. p. 829. Sūtra 17.

Agnihotra the Vāvātā avails herself of the coveted fortune of getting the king on her lap with his head towards the north;⁸² this simply signifies the justification of her name "Vāvātā: the favourite" and nothing important so far as the supermundane bliss is concerned. The queens together with the maidens most probably help the king in keeping awake throughout the night. In other sacrifices as well as in this it is the chief queen who needs to keep awake along with the sacrifices and not all.

On the return of the horses on the second Soma-pressing day they are all bathed. Now the first three queens are to anoint the sacrificial horses and entwine pearls or coins into its mane and tail.⁸³ The order of anointing and entwining does not seem to be strictly observed.⁸⁴ The chief queen anoints the fore-parts, the favourite queen the middle and a discarded wife the hind-part. Again, the chief queen takes recourse to the Gāyatrī metre, the most important of all metres; the second, the Triṣṭubh; Parivṛkti, the Jagatī. The stuff that the chief queen uses for anointing is clarified butter mixed with the sap of the sacred Pātu-dru tree; that the Vāvātā uses is clarified butter mixed with the ordinary thing bdellium⁸⁵ and that the Parivṛkti uses is Ghee mixed

⁸² *Op. cit.*, Sūtra 18.

⁸³ Pālāgali, a Sūdrā by birth, cannot observe these rites, cf. *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 2, 6, 7. Anointing and entwining: *Kāth. Samh.*, III, 12, 18, 19; *Vāj. Samh.*, XIII, 5-8; *Tait. Brā.*, III, 9, 4, 1-8; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 2, 6, 1-6; *Ap. SS.*, XX, 15, 6 f.; *Kāt. SS.*, XX, 5, 10 f.; *Baudh. SS.*, XV, 24, vol. II.

⁸⁴ Cf. Baudhāyana and Āpastamba.

⁸⁵ Gaulgulava, known in Bengal as Guggul.

with the sap of the Mustā plants that grows anywhere and everywhere. The companions that they have are the same as before. The varied rank of these maidens at once brings out the respective position of the queens. Again, during the entwining of pearls the chief queen adorns the parts in front of the place where the yoke rests with golden pearls; the Vāvātā below that and the buttocks with silver ones; the Parivr̥kti below the buttocks with any and every pearl that may come from the sea.⁸⁶

After the wild animals are released, the horse is killed, most probably, by stifling in robes. Then the Unnetṛ or Pratiprasthātṛ⁸⁷ or Adhvaryu⁸⁸ leads them up from their ordinary place near the Gārhapatya to the victim. They carry in their hands jars of water.⁸⁹ According to Satyā-ṣādha only the chief queen should be led by the Pratiprasthātṛ; so, other wives are to follow her.⁹⁰ In order to make amends for the slaughtering of the victim and to invoke the divine helpers to help the chief queen in the most important rite that follows,⁹¹ they walk round the victim nine times while fanning him with the flutter of

86 According to B.YV. ritual, each of them uses 100 pearls; *Ap. SS.*, XX, 15, vol. III, p. 159, I. 11; *Baudh. SS.*, vol. II, p. 228, II. 3, 5 and 7; *Sat. SS.*, vol. V, p. 237, II. 17 f. According to W.YV. only a hundred; *Kāt. SS.*, Weber, p. 971; according to the Scholiast, one hundred and one.

87 *Kāt. SS.*, XX, 6, 12; *Ap. SS.*, XX, 17, 12.

88 *Baudh. SS.*, XV, 29.

89 Scholiast on *Kāt. SS.*, XX, 6, 14, Weber, p. 973, II. 1-2.

90 *SS.*, vol. V, p. 242, II. 6 f.

91 *Tait. Sūph.*, VII, 4, 12, 1; *Tait. Brā.*, 3, 9, 6, 1; *Ap. SS.*, XX, 17, 13; *Kāt. SS.*, XX, 6, 14, Weber, p. 973, I. 1.

their garments; for the first three times they tie in a knot the right locks of hair and let loose the left ones and walk from right to left, simiting their right thighs; then they follow the exactly reverse course in all matters.⁹² The chief queen, now, shows anxiety to approach the slain horse, who represents Prajāpati, in order to have seed from him. Then the chief queen lies down by the side of the horse. She, along with the utterance of mantras, makes various attempts while the Adhvaryu cloaks them together with garments. While she does the obscene act, she feels reluctant and censures the horse.⁹³ Three times the chief queen censures, three times the others persuade her. All sorts of indecent acts and talks are the concomitant factors of fertility spells;⁹⁴ here, too, for the sake of fertility, indecent colloquy between the priests, queen and maidens, etc. begin. According to several schools only the maidens reply.⁹⁵ According to *Sat. Br.*,⁹⁶ the Brahman, the most important priest of all, addresses the queen consort, while the Udgātṛ addresses

92 *Āp. SS.*, *op. cit.*, Sūtras 13-16.

93 *Kāt. SS.*, XX, 6, 16-17, p. 973, ll. 6-10; *Āp. SS.*, XX, 18, 4, vol. III, p. 163, ll. 77 f.; *Vait. S.*, XXXVI, 30, p. 52.

94 Cf. the Dialogue between the Brahmacārin and the Hetaera in the Mahāvratā.

95 *Kāt. SS.*, XX, 6, 20; *Āp. SS.*, XX 18, 6; *Asv. SS.*, X, 8, 13; *Vait. S.*, XXXVI, 32.

96 XIII, 2, 9, 1-8. It will be seen in this connection that from the very beginning the chief queen is, from the ritualistic point of view, dedicated to the Brahman. Most probably there is no other reason here than this that the chief queen holding the highest position can be dedicated to Brahman only who is the most important of all priests; *Āp. SS.*, XX, 10, 2, vol. III, p. 153.

the Vāvātā and the Chamberlain, the fourth wife. The different schools vary very much, but there is no doubt that all of these insertions and omissions are meant for the fertility of the chief queen. All other queens as well as their maidens join herein only as help-mates in the Fertility Rite which is the chief one in the Horse-sacrifice. At the end of the obscene colloquy the queen consort is raised up by her own maidens.⁹⁷ Now, the first three queens mark out with metal needles the lines for the dissection of the victim. Here, too, the chief queen has all the preferences. She marks the lines in the fore-part, down to the breast, while the Vāvātā does up to the navel and the Parivrkti the rest. She, again, makes the knife-paths (Asipathas) with golden needles, while the second wife with silver ones and the Parivrkti with iron or lead ones.⁹⁸ The scholiast on Satyāsādhā⁹⁹ says in this connection that the chief queen, Vāvātā and the Parivrkti, holding as they do the supreme, intermediate and worst position respectively, should, accordingly, mark out the knife-path in varying parts of varied importance—the chief queen in the fore-part, i.e. the most

97 *Kāt. SS.*, XX, 6, 21, Weber, p. 973.

98 *Ap. SS.*, XX, 18, 7, vol. II, p. 163, ll. 2 f.; *Baudh. SS.*, XV, 30, vol. II, p. 235, ll. 9 f.; *Kāt. SS.*, XX, 7, 1, Weber, u. 973, ll. 18 f.; cf. *Kāth. Sam.*, X, 5; *Mait. Sam.* III, 12, 21; *Vāj. Sam.*, XXII, 33-38.

99 *SS.*, vol. V, p. 244, ll. 3-5:

राज्ञः पत्न्यस्त्रिविधा उत्तमा मध्यमाधमा चेति ताश्च महिषी वावाता परिवृक्तीत्ये-
तन्नामधेयाः । ताश्च मृतस्याश्वस्यासिना छेदनाय तत्तदस्थानेषु रेखाः सूचीभिः
कुर्युः ।

important part, the Vāvātā in the middle part and the Parivṛkti in the hind-part. She is the *uttamā patnī* and accordingly she has her own exclusive rights and in the remaining, too, she leads everywhere.

In the Rājasūya the chief queen is the permanent Ratnin in as much as authorities differ as to the reckoning of the Vāvātā and Parivṛkti as Ratnins, Jewels of the king.¹⁰⁰ The Śat. Br. reckons neither the Vāvātā nor Parivṛkti as Ratnin.¹⁰¹ The king offers a pap for Nirṛti in the house of the Parivṛkti, not because she is a Ratnin, but because he likes to get rid of Nirṛti, calamity, while he is consecrated. As the Parivṛkti has no son, she is seized with Nirṛti; in order to propitiate Nirṛti, the king prepares a pap of black rice broken by nails with which to offer. According to Kātyāyana, ¹⁰² she is to betake herself to a Brāhmaṇa's house where the king has no power. The offering to Nirṛti, the use of black rice broken by nails and taking shelter in a Brāhmaṇa's house at once direct to the degraded position of the Parivṛkti: and it is only natural that a good many authorities, led by *Śat. Br.*, do not recognise her as a jewel. Several authorities of the Taittirīya school recognise the Vāvātā as a Ratnin and recommend the offering of a pap

100 The Rājasūya practically ends with the Sunāsiriya offering; on the fourth to the fifteenth day after the Sunāsiriya, offerings called Ratninām Havimṣi are offered in the house of the Jewels of the King, his wives and high officers. For the order of Ratnins, cf. *Śat. Br.*, V, 3, 1; *Tait. Br.*, I, 7, 3; *Baudh. SS.*, XII, 5, 6; *Ap. SS.*, XVIII, 10, 12—II, 23; *Kāt. SS.*, XV, 3, 1-46; *Kāt. Sam.*, XV, 4, 5; *Mait. Sam.*, II, 6, 5, 6; etc.

101 For its eleven Ratnins, cf. *op. cit.*, Sūtras 1-12.

102 XV, 3, 36, p. 974, Weber's Ed.

to Bhaga in her house,¹⁰³ but this recommendation in her favour loses importance as no other Vedic school gives her the position of a Ratnin. According to all the authorities a pap to Aditi or Āditya is to be offered in the house of the chief queen. She offers a cow as the sacrificial fee of this rite.

It is the chief queen who is to sit touching the king in the offering of scrapings of the consecrated waters which is offered at the house of a favourite son.¹⁰⁴ While mounting the chariot for a symbolic conquest of the quarters (dig-vijaya) the king touches the chief queen and the horses with the tip of the bow so that by the quickening of the Maruts they might bring him victory and that he might be united with power.¹⁰⁵ This bow he hands over to the chief queen for safe preservation so that their (eldest?) son might be victorious by means of this (symbolic) bolt (vajra).¹⁰⁶

While adoring the king, the Brahman hands over the sword to the king, which he again lets pass amongst the Ratnins from hand to hand. They touch the sword to assure the king of their faithfulness. The chief queen is the only wife who, in common consent of all the authorities, is entitled to touch the sword which is the symbol of unity

103 E.g. *Āp. SS.*, XVIII, 10, 14, vol. III, p. 88, I. 1.

104 *Baudha. SS.*, XII, 11; vol. II, p. 102, I 4; *Tait. Saṃ.*, I. 8, 14, I. etc.

105 *Āp. SS.*, XVIII, 17, 10, vol. III, p. 97; cf. *Vāj. Saṃ.*, X, 21.

106 *Āp. SS.*, *op. cit.*, Sūtra II; *Sat. SS.*, XIII, 6, 10, vol. V, p. 179.

among the jewels of the king as well as of loyalty of them all to him.¹⁰⁷

In the Human sacrifice,¹⁰⁸ too, the chief queen lies down by the side of the victim¹⁰⁹ as she does in the Aśvamedha. They are cloaked together under garments and the sacrificer exhorts her to do the obscene act. A similar colloquy as in the Aśvamedha follows. When it is finished, the Hotṛ and others¹¹⁰ (most probably, the Udgāṭṛ, Adhvaryu and Brahman,¹¹¹) raise her up. According to the Vaitāna only the Brahman is to do so. Now, the Hotṛ consecrates her with prayers in which he invokes the spirit of the parted sires (of the sacrificer);¹¹² the Udgāṭṛ consecrates her with the formulas in which he prays that the manes may live in happiness and sojourn during the sacrifice to the sacrificial place;¹¹³ and the Adhvaryu with the prayer that she may live long and secure.¹¹⁴ The Brahman makes her utter the Mantra in which she prays for the long life of herself as well as for her husband.¹¹⁵

107 *Ap. ŚS.*, XVIII, 18, 9 and 14, vol. III, p. 99; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. V, p. 181, II. 27 f.—p. 182, I. 2.

108 This sacrifice is prescribed in two texts only, viz. the *Śāñ. ŚS.*, XVI, 10 f., and *Vait. S.*, XXVII, 10 f. In the Puruṣamedha dealt with by the *Sat. Brā.*, (XIII, 6) only symbolical human victims are offered.

109 *Śāñ. ŚS.*, XVI, 13, 7; *Vait. S.*, XXXVIII, 3; cf. *Kaṇ. ŚS.*, 80, 15.

110 Scholiast on *Śāñ. ŚS.*, XVI, 13, 13, vol. III, p. 375, I. 4.

111 Compare the following Sūtra and the Scholiast thereon.

112 The Mantras: *RV.*, X, 57, 3-5.

113 The Mantras: *RV.*, X, 58, 1-3. 114 Mantras: X, 60, 8-10.

115. Mantras: *RV.*, X, 59, 5-7; cf. Scholiast on *Śāñ. ŚS.*, XVI, 13, 15, vol. III, p. 375 and also, the foot-note.

In the Rād-yajña¹¹⁶ which has been mentioned in the *Pañc. Brā.* alone and is intended to restore a deposed king to his kingdom, the chief queen is one of the eight vīras who surround and sprinkle the celebrant.

Now, we set out the duties of the chief wife in establishing and keeping up of the sacred domestic fire. If the newly-married couple desire to establish and keep up fire from their marriage time,¹¹⁷ they carry the Marriage Fire to their new house—or if they like to live under the same roof as the father, to that house, and establish it there. They constantly keep it up by offering morning and evening oblations. According to certain authorities,¹¹⁸ it is only she, and not the husband, who should offer these oblations, because she is the House and this Fire is Domestic. Either of them seems, however, to be equally entitled to offer it;¹¹⁹ it is only natural that in case of the absence or sickness of either, the other will offer. The presence of both, or at

116 XIX, 7, 1-4.

117 This fire could also be established at the time of the division of the property of the family, return of a student from his studentship, and on the death of the head of the family.

118 *Khā. GS.*, I, 5, 17-18, p. 40; *Gobh. GS.*, I, 3, 13.

119 *Pār. GS.*, p. 113, Bom. Ed., “Tyāgaṃ tu sarvatlā kuryāt tatrāpy anyataras tayoh, etc.”

पत्नी चेत् कर्मकामा भवति, तदा पुमांसौ मित्रावरुणौ पुमांसावश्विनावुभा ।
पुमान् इन्द्रश्च सूर्यश्च पुमान् स वर्त्ततां मयि पुनः स्वाहेति...जुहोति ।

Karma-pradīpikā by Kāmadeva F. 12b.

यजमानः प्रधानः स्यात् पत्नी पुत्रश्च कन्यका ।

ऋत्विक् शिष्यो गुरुभ्राता भागिनेयः सुतापतिः ॥

op. cit. F. 12 b

least, either of them is necessary.¹²⁰ If she cannot be bodily present, the Adhvaryu acts as her substitute with her permission, which, of course, follows automatically in case of her pregnancy, madness,¹²¹ etc.

If the fire goes out, she fasts;¹²² according to Vaikhānasa,¹²³ performs a Kṛcchra. She also fasts if the time of kindling up the fire elapses.¹²⁴

If the existence of the fire is interrupted for twelve days, it is to be re-established. The Vivāhājyāhuti, the Lājāhuti, the Gṛhapraveśanīyāhuti, have to be repeated herein; however, the wife herself and not her brother offers the Lājāhuti now. According to Vaikhānasa, however, the rite of establishing fire is to be observed again if the husband and the wife remain without fire three days, and in this case the wife is required to undergo the Prājāpatya or Pādakṛcchra penance while the husband fasts one day.¹²⁵

Either the chief wife or the husband offers the Bali,¹²⁶ but Gobhila¹²⁷ makes a special rule that the wife should offer in the evening and the husband in the morning. Naturally the option ceases if the husband is absent.¹²⁸ Accord-

120 *Samskāraratnamālā*, vol. I, p. 619, ll. 1 ff.

121 *Pār. GS.*, *op. cit.*; *Samskāraratnamālā*, *op. cit.*, ll. 9 f.

122 According to a good many authorities, only she should fast; according to some, the husband also may; Nārāyaṇa in *Samskāramayūkha*; *Āśv. GS.*, I, 9, 1, etc. Husband: *Āp. GS.* V., 17; *Hir. GS.*, I, 22, 5.

123 She does so also if it comes into contact with some other fire, too. 124 *Āśv. GS.*, I, 9, 3; cf. Nārāyaṇa and Gṛhakārikā.

125 *Vaikh. GS.*, VI, 15, p. 99, ll. 7-10.

126 *Vaikh. GS.*, III, 7, p. 41, ll. 14-15; cf. VI, 17, p. 101, ll. 3-4.

127 *Gobh. GS.*, I, 4, 17, p. 153; particularly Sūtra 19, p. 154.

128 *Sān. GS.*, II, 14.

ing to Bhāradvāja, it is only she who should offer the Vaiśvadeva, three times along with the utterance of the Yajus text and once silently.¹²⁹

The cooking¹³⁰ and other preliminary things such as husking¹³¹ are always done by her. Before beginning the cooking, she washes herself.¹³² Having finished the cooking, she purifies herself by sipping water, etc., and in a sweet distinct voice reports to her husband that she has finished it.¹³³ The husband thanks her that it is well done, and prays that the food which is Virāt may not fall short. Then she removes the cooking vessel to a secure place, and cleanses the upper part with water and the lower with cow-dung. She now takes four fuels in her hand, sprinkles and offers them along with the utterance of the prescribed formulas.¹³⁴ She makes offerings in praise of everything that helps her cooking, all the quarters and innumerable gods. During the Nṛ-yajña, either the husband pours water and she washes, or she pours water and he washes; they wash with mutual help simply the portion of the leg under the knee.¹³⁵ Daily she propitiates thus the Guests, the Gods, the Beings, Brahma, and the Manes.

129 *Bhār. GS.*, III, 12, p. 78, ll. 4 f. "Vaiśvadevaṃ nirvapet, etc." The husband is to offer only if she appoints him to offer the Bali, "Yukto vā svayaṃ nirvapet."

130 *Bhār. GS.*, *op. cit.*; commentator on *Gobh.*, "She is supreme in matters concerning food" and so on (cf. *Manu* IX, II). *Śaṃskāraratnamālā*, p. 938.

131 *Bhār. GS.*, *op. cit.*, I, 6.

132 *Bhār. GS.*, *op. cit.*

133 *Gobh. GS.*, I, 3, 15, pp. 116-117; *Khād. GS.*, I, 5, 17

134 *Bhār. GS.*, *op. cit.*, I, 11. ff.

135 *Baudh. GS.*, I, 2, 22-23, p. 5.

According to Pāraskara, the husband and the wife may either take their meals together or the husband may take them earlier, but in any case they must partake of the remnant of the food after all the above-mentioned offerings.¹³⁶

In the rites concerning the House, the chief wife enters first the newly-built house with a full jar on her head or lap¹³⁷. It seems that only the chief wife as the mistress of the house should carry the jar. That she should enter first is indicative of her authority over the house; her decided authority over household affairs is also found in the statement that the wife is the house, occurring in various places¹³⁸. Any way, it is certain that while entering the new house she heads the host of wives after whom come the husband and all others. It is on her lap that the husband should lie down and it is she whom the husband looks at again and again along with the prayer that they may together, in the house, overcome all hostile powers.¹³⁹ On this ceremonial day all the disputations are shunned by her as well as by others.¹⁴⁰

136 *Pār. GS.*, II, 9, 14-15, p. 262 of Bom. Ed.; Karka, p. 263, ll. 3 f.; *Paddhati*, p. 266, I, 2; Gadādhara, p. 267, ll. 3 f. According to Viśvanātha, the wife and the husband should take together if no guest happens to be present. For the procedure of offering the five Mahāyajñas, see Padhārthakama as given in *Pār. GS.*, pp. 267 f.

137 *III*, 12, 8.

138 न गृहं गृहमित्याहुर्गृहिणी गृहमुच्यते, commentary on *Gobh. GS.*, I, 3, 13 p. 95; *Trāh. GS.*, 1, 5, 17; *Sāh. GS.*, II, 16, 3.

139 *Hir. GS.*, I, 29, 2, p. 57, ll. 6-7.

140 *Op. cit.*

In a rite named *Gr̥hasānti* her apartments are swept clean by the husband with the leaves of *Apāmāga* or *palāśa* or *udumbara* or of some other tree or plant mentioned in the list.¹⁴¹ While sweeping, he prays to *Rudra* that none of them in the house might be harmed, that the mother, particularly, could not be harmed, and that no injury might be inflicted on the seed, progeny, cows or horses.¹⁴²

After the animal has been killed in a domestic sacrifice, the chief wife bathes the apertures of the animal with water along with the utterance of the mantras.¹⁴³ With the water-jar in her hands she worships the Sun. The procedure is exactly the same as in the *Śrautra* rites.¹⁴⁴ At the end of the sacrifice the wife adds a fuel to the fire.¹⁴⁵

In the *Śūlagava* sacrifice, too, after the animal has been killed, she washes the apertures in the above-mentioned manner.¹⁴⁶ According to *Bhāradvāja*¹⁴⁷ and *Hiranyakeśin*,¹⁴⁸ she should offer rice to the consort of *Śiva* after the husband has offered to *Śiva*. According to *Pāraskara*,¹⁴⁹ she also offers the *Patnī-samyāja* offerings to *Indrāṇī* and *Rudrāṇī*, *Śarvāṇī*, *Bhavāṇī* and *Agni Gr̥hapati*.

In one rite named *Baudhya-vihāra* mentioned only in

141 *Baudh. GS.*, I, 18, 2, p. 220, ll. 4-6.

142 For the Mantras, *BV.*, I, 114, 7-8.

143 *Ādityadarśana* on *Kāth. GS.*, I, 10, p. 223, l. 22; cf. *Brahmabala* on *op. cit.* 51, 13, p. 228, l. 3 f.

144 See *Paśuyāga*, *supra*.

145 *Brahmabala* on *Kāth. GS.*, 51, 13, p. 230, l. 12.

146 *Ādityadarśana* on *Kāth. GS.*, 52, 6, p. 232, ll. 19 f. cf. *Baudha. GS.*, II, 7, 10, p. 51, l. 17.

147 II, 9, p. 40, l. 13.

148 II, 8, 7, p. 70, l. 10. 149 III, 8, 10, p. 342. Bom. Ed.

the *Hir. GS.*,¹⁵⁰ and elaborated in the *Sams. RM.*,¹⁵¹ the chief wife observes all the rites beginning from spreading the black deer-skin down to husking as have been mentioned in connection with the *Sthālīpāka*.

The chief wife performs the *Caitra* sacrifice on the full-moon-day in the month of *Caitra*.¹⁵² She together with her husband begins the *Īrāvāna* sacrifice on the fullmoon day under *Śraviṣṭhā*.¹⁵³ The sacrifice goes on daily until *Āgrahāyaṇī* sacrifice when the beds are placed on the ground with the advent of drier weather. The sacrifice is directed against any danger from snakes.¹⁵⁴ Every day the sacrificer makes offerings to serpents which she puts away silently.¹⁵⁵ On the fullmoon day of *Bhādra*, she observes the *Prausthapada* sacrifice.¹⁵⁶ On the fullmoon day of the *Āśvina* she offers the *Āśvayuga* sacrifice or the *Pṛṣātaka* ceremony,¹⁵⁷ in which her principal duty lies in preparing a mess of boiled rice-grains. On the fullmoon day of the *Āgrahāyaṇa*¹⁵⁸ she observes the *Āgrahāyaṇī*

150 *II*, 9, p. 71.

151 *Vol. II*, p. 914 f.

152 *Sān. GS.*, IV, 19.

153 *Gobh. GS.*, III, 7, 3; *Āśv. GS.*, II, 1, 15; *Sām. GS.*, IV, 15; II, 14, 9; *Ap. PS.*, XVIII, 5 f.; *Hir. GS.*, II, 16; *Mān. GS.*, II, 16; *Bhār. GS.*, II, 1; etc.

154 The modern *Manasā-pūjā* of Bengal seems to be a prototype of this rite 155 According to *Sāṅkhāyana*, IV, 15, 14-20.

156 Recorded by *Pāraskara* alone, II, 15.

157 *Āśv. GS.*, II, 2, 1; *Sān. GS.*, IV, 16; *Pār. GS.*, II, 16; *Gobh. GS.*, III, 8, 1-8; *Khād. GS.*, III, 3, 1. This rite seems to be the older form of the *Āśvinikumāra Vrata* in which the mothers wait so expectantly for the return of the sons away from home.

158 *Āśvalāyana* prescribes the 14th day as an alternative.

sacrifice.¹⁵⁹ She cleanses the house thoroughly, which is followed by a smoking. At this time the danger from snakes being over, the beds of all the members of the house are lowered down. At the end of the sacrifice, all the members of the household sit on straws and unwashed garments. According to Gobhila,¹⁶⁰ she sits immediately next to the sacrificer with her children on her lap or by her side; according to Āpastamba¹⁶¹ she sits to his north. After this rite she descends together with her husband and children along with the utterance of the words, "Life, fame, strength, enjoyment of food, offspring." Then she lies down, together with all others on her right side, with her head towards the east along with the prayer to the Earth for propitiating her.¹⁶² She and all others rise up, praying for the exuberance of life, for blessed life. For four months and even more she and all others sleep on the ground.¹⁶³

In the ancestral rites the most important rite that the chief wife is to perform is the cooking of the Śrāddha-

159 *Gobh. GS.*, III, 9; *Āśv. GS.*, II, 3; *Sān. GS.*, IV, 17; *Pār. GS.*, III, 2; *Āp. GS.*, XIX, 3; *Bhār. GS.*, II, 2; *Mān. GS.*, II, 7, 1-5; *Hir. GS.*, II, 17. This is, as the name denotes, the festival of the beginning of the New year.

160 III, 9, 17; *Drāh. GS.*, III, 3, 22. See the commentary on *Gobh.* for the arrangement of all others.

161 XIX, 8.

162 Mantra, *Vāj. Sam.*, XXXV, 21.

163 *Pār. GS.*, III, 6, 6 f., p. 318, Bom. Ed.; cf. the various commentaries: Karka, p. 320, l. 4 f.; Harihara, p. 320, l. 32 f.; etc.

pāka,¹⁶⁴ food to be offered to the Manes with honour. As she is supreme in all matters concerning cooking and such other domestic affairs, it is she who is to do this.¹⁶⁵ Gobhila, as quoted in the *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī*¹⁶⁶ says she should, at the end of the cooking, say "finished", after which the actual ceremony begins. Vyāsa,¹⁶⁷ as quoted in the *Śrāddhakāśikā*, says the wife should, after cooking, take a bath. It is she who is to serve food to the manes. Kṛkālā's manes incurred sins because Sukalā was deprived of her right to offer the cakes; and Dharma calls both him as well as the manes thieves.¹⁶⁸ The manes as well as the sacrificer, instead of acquiring religious merit, incur sin if the (eldest) wife does not serve during the Śrāddha, the food herself.¹⁶⁹ At the end of the ceremony she partakes with her husband of the remnants of food.¹⁷⁰

On the 2nd aṣṭakā day after the animal is killed, it is

164 *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī*, p. 96; *Śrāddha-mañjarī*, p. 6, ll. 23-24; according to the *Mañjarikā* she is to cook if her husband is unable to do so; *Pār. GS.*, p. 464, l. 7.

165 *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī*, *op. cit.*, 1.

166 *Op. cit.*,

167 *Pār. GS.*, p. 442, l. 4.

168 *Padma-purāṇa*, bhūmi-khaṇḍa, p. 222, ll. 1 f., particularly śloka 20 ff.. अमी पितामहाश्चौरा यैश्च भुक्तं तया विना । etc.

169 *Padmapurāṇa*, *op. cit.*,

भार्या पचति चेदन्नं खहस्तेनामृतोपमम् ।

तदन्नमेव भुज्जन्ति पितरो हृष्टमानसाः ।

तेनैव तृप्तिमायान्ति सन्तुष्टश्च भवन्ति ते ॥

etc. Also *Pār. GS.*, p. 470, l. 37; 71, l. 1.

170 *Śrāddha-tattva*, H. Sastri's ed., p. 251.

she who washes all the fourteen apertures of the cow's body.¹⁷¹ On the Anvāṣṭakya day she¹⁷² places a stone in the Kuśa grass and pounds on that stone a fragrant substance called Sthagara,¹⁷³ grinds some collyrium¹⁷⁴ and anoints therewith three Darbha blades. These are placed underneath the seats of three Brāhmaṇas who are invited to the sacrifice.

In the Pīṭryajña she, accompanied by the sacrificer, pays reverence to the manes. She also prays to Agni Gārhapatyā for releasing her from any sin she may have committed to atmosphere, earth, sky, mother or father.¹⁷⁵

The true significance of the performance of rites lies in the eating of Idā. The eating of Idā leads to the end of the sacrifice, the sacrifice of life, the fulness of human life and ultimately to Prajāpati, Lord of Sacrifices, the Self of Sacrifices. The successful completion of domestic and social life of man, of the material and spiritual life, of his earthly and divine life, in a word, of his whole life—lies in this. The Christians observe this rite under the name of the Eucharistic sacrifice. In this sacrifice they offer bread and wine to Christ and by means of the utter-

171 *Drāh. GS.*, III, 4, 8; *Khā. GS.*, p. 109, l. 7-9; *Gobh. GS.*, III, 10, 27, p. 177 (2nd part). For the fourteen apertures, see *Gobh. GS.*, p. 177, l. 7.

172 Cf. Commentary, 'Caśabdāt prakṛtā patnī,' p. 207 of *Gobh. GS.*, vol. II, ll. 2-3.

173 But see *Gobh. GS.*, IV, 2, 29. Comm., vol. II, p. 206 "Sthagaram candanādigandhadravayam."

174 According to the commentator this kind of collyrium is known as Sauvirāñjana.

175 *Tait. Samh.*, I, 8, 5 (K).

rance of holy mantras these are transubstantiated into flesh and blood of Christ. The Christians form a Holy Communion with Christ by means of eating these flesh and blood of Christ.¹⁷⁶ This eating of the Idā in Vedic ritual is nothing but the observance of the Eucharistic sacrifice and forming a Holy Communion with Prajāpati, Lord of Sacrifices. In the Agnihotra the remnant of the milk offered is to be taken. In the New and Fullmoon sacrifices, etc., the remnant of the Purodāśa offering is to be eaten. In the animal sacrifice a portion of the meat offered is eaten. In the Soma sacrifice, the remnant of the Soma offered is to be drunk.¹⁷⁷ In the Baliharāṇa, the husband and wife take the remnant of the food remaining after the five daily sacrifices.¹⁷⁸ In all the Śrāddha offerings, the remnant of the food offered is to be eaten.¹⁷⁹ In this eating of the Haviś-śeṣa, the Idā, only the chief wife is to participate, as this rite *devolves* on the wife and the sacrificer all that the Sacrifice may, and consequently, is a rite designed to help in the other world as well. In this rite all the priests and the sacrificer also participate and together with them, she forms a Holy Communion between Prajāpati, the Supreme Soul, and the establishers of the sacrificer.

176 Groten, *Christian Eucharist*, pp. 30 f. and 162 ff.

177 *Baudh. ŚS.*, VII, 15, p. 225; VIII, 4, p. 240; *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. Ed., p. 552 "Patni ca anyat, etc."

178 *Pār. GS.*, II, 9, 14, p. 261, Bom. Ed., of the varicus commentaries.

179 *Śrāddha-tattva* of Raghunandana, Hṛṣikeśa Sāstrin's ed., Calcutta, 1909-10.

The Position of Wives other than the first in the Vedic Ritual*

Though the wives other than the first have no right to participate in those rites which are meant for Supreme Bliss, they are, however, allowed to participate in those which are considered as Saṃskāras, and those which are meant only for earthly bliss (ārād upakāraka). The Patnī (chief wife) observes those rites as well as those which only she and none of the other wives, can perform. In the rites dealt with here the first wife has, unless otherwise mentioned, the first claim and precedence over other wives.

In the New and Full Moon sacrifices¹ all the wives of the sacrificer are either girded by the Agnīdhra priest, or they gird themselves.² They sit either to the north of the Gārhapatya³ or to the south-west⁴ with bent or raised knees. With the pres-

* Reprinted from the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVII, 1941, pp. 180-195.

1 As a rule, the wives take a bath and adorn themselves for their participation in sacrifices. According to Bhāradvāja, as quoted by the *Commentary* on Āpastamba (II, 6, 12, p. 32) they should anoint themselves with cow-dung. Baudhāyana also recommends both adornment and anointment, and Paṭhīnāsī adds the smelling of scented flowers. *Comm. on Āp.ŚS.*, 1.6.12, p. 23, vol. I.

2 *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 159, I, 14 f.

3 *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 161, I, 5 f; *Āp.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 96.

4 The *Sat.Brā.* strictly forbids the wives to sit to the west of the sacrifice, with their faces towards the east, for in that case Aditī,

cribed formula⁵ a triple cord of Muñja known as yoktrapāśa is put round their waist, either outside or inside the garment.⁶ The *Sat. Brā.*⁷ warns that a knot must not be made, while the *Tait. Brā.*⁸ insists upon making it. According to Kātyāyana and the Scholiast Karka⁹ the Agnīdhra priest is to wind the cord round their waist from left to right and having fixed the southern end by twice twisting round the northern one, he draws the southern end to the encircling cord upwards so that it may hang down.

Then the wives worship Agni Gṛhapati and Devānām patnīḥ with the formula, "Agne gṛhapate upa mā hvayasva iti" and

who always sits like that, might be displeased with them. By sitting somewhat to the south (cf. I, 3.1.17) of the Gārhapatya fire they propitiate Aditi.

5 *Vāj.Sam.*, I, 30; *Tait.Sam.*, III, 5, 6a (cf. *Āp. ŚS.*, X, 9, 16 and *Baudh.ŚS.*, VI, 5).

6 *Āp.ŚS.*, अभ्यन्तरं वा, vol. I, p. 96, I, 6; *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 160, ll. 3 f.

For the symbolic meaning of the act, see *Tait.Brā.*, III, 3, 3, 2-3; they should be girded on the garment so that Varuṇa's noose could not injure them.

7 I, 3.1.16. For a knot is Varuṇa's attribute and Varuṇa might cause some injury to the wife.

8 III, 3, 3, 4. Thus symbolically all the blessings are secured for her. Āpastamba and others belonging to the YV. prescribe the knot to be made on the north side of the navel; *Āp.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 96, II, 13 f.; *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 160, ll. 9 f.; etc.

9 II, 7, I; Weber's ed. p. 221, ll. 1 f.

“Devānām patnīr upa mā hvayadhvam iti” respectively.¹⁰ Now, the Agnīdhra takes the pot containing the clarified butter from the fire, puts on the ground before the sacrificer’s wives, and bids them look at it.¹¹ They do so first silently and then again with the mantra¹² “Pervader of Viṣṇu art thou, etc.” according to *W.Yv.* ritual and with “Thou art the milk of great one”, etc., according to *B.Yv.* ritual. Then they again sit to the north¹³ or south-east¹⁴ along with the utterance of the mantra “Indrāṇī iva avidhavā bhūyāsam” etc. Having taken seats, they mutter “Suprajas tvā vyaṃ”, etc., “Mama putrāḥ śatruhanah,” etc. They sit there till the unloosing of the girdle.

At the end of the sacrifice the grass cords of the wives are to be united. As a preliminary to this rite the Hotṛ gives to the wives Kuśa grass along with the mantra “Vedo’si: Thou

10 *Āp.ŚS.*, 2, 5, 6-7; *Sat.ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, ll. 14 f. इदमारादुपकारकं किमपि प्रतिपत्न्यावर्तते, Mahādeva on *Satyāśādhā*, 1. 20-21; cf. Rudradatta on *Āp.* 2, 5, 10, संवहनादिः प्रतिपत्न्यावर्तते । संप्रैषान्तो विधिः पत्नी-संस्कारत्वात् प्रतिपत्न्यावर्तते,

11 *Baud.ŚS.*, pp. 18 l. 4.

12 *Vāj.Samh.*, I. 30; cf. *Tait. Samh.* I. 1.10. k “Thou art the milk of great one’s”, etc.; *Āp.ŚS.*, 2.6.2, vol. 2, p. 98; *Baud.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 18, l. 4 f. For the rite to be observed by all the wives, cf. Rudradatta on *Āp.*, पत्न्यनेकत्वे चावृत्तिः बोधायनेनोक्ता, etc.

13 *Sat.ŚS.*, p. 14, 1-5.

14 *Āp.ŚS.*, 258

art Veda", etc.¹⁵ If they are desirous of children, they touch their navels with the tips of the Kuśa grass.¹⁶ The wives place the Kuśa grass on their laps with the mantra "Ghṛtavantaṃ kulāyinam," etc.¹⁷ Then they themselves or the Hotṛ throw them away. According to some schools mentioned in *Sat.ŚS.*, it is done thrice.

Then the wives themselves unite the grass-cords, optionally using the Yajus text,¹⁸ or the *RV* text¹⁹ as the case may be.

15 According to the *Āśv.* school, the mantra is to be uttered by the wife after the Kuśa has been given to her; p. 32, l. 25. For an alternative mantra, see *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 227, ll. 26-27. See particularly in this connection the *Vaijayanṭi* on *Satyāśādhā*, vol. I, p. 228, ll. 16 f. तेन प्रतिपत्ति वेददानादीति गम्यते, etc."

16 According to *Āśv.*, *ŚS.*, Ānandāśrama ed., p. 33, ll. 3-5; Bib. Ind. ed., p. 55, l. ii. 2.

17 *Tait. Samh.*, I. 6.4.4; 7.4.6; *Mait. Samh.*, 1.5.3; *Kāth. Samh.*, and *Āp. ŚS.*, *Śān. ŚS.*, 1.15.13. p. 226, ll. 10 f.; also *Āpastamba* III, 10, 3 (see Rudradatta: पत्नीसंस्कारश्चायं विन्दते प्रजामिति लिङ्गात् । तेन प्रतिपत्ति प्रास्यति ॥)

18 *Vāj. Samh.*, II, 21a; *Tait. Samh.*, III, 5.6 (to be used before 1.4.45 according to *Āp. ŚS.*, VIII, 8-14; cf. XIII, 20.15). The use of the Ātmanepadi verb *viśyate* shows that wives themselves are to do so; see, however, Nārāyaṇa on *Āśvalāyana* (l. 11; 5, p. 33, l. 8;) who assigns this ceremony to the Hotṛ. For the use of the Parasmaipada or the Ātmanepada in this case, *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 228, l. 22 ff.

19 प्र त्वा मुञ्चामि वरुणस्य पाशात्, etc. *Śān. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 10, l. 21-22 (I, 15.9); *Āśv. ŚS.*, l. 11. 3, p. 33, l. 6, of Ānandāśrama ed.

The united cords²⁰ are placed on the hands of the wives and some Kuśa grasses are placed on them. A pitcher full of water is placed in front of the wives. Now water is poured on the grasses and the cord after which they place the grasses within the thigh.²¹ They wash their mouths with the water from the pitcher²² and pray for cattle, children, etc.²³ Then they worship Agni Gārhapatya which is the final rite.²⁴

In the Varuṇapraghāśas the wives should be girded with grass-cords.²⁵ The *Vaitāna Sūtra*²⁶ says the wife should have a wash after the interrogation by Pratiprasthātṛ as to how many lovers she has. Though the Sūtras do not refer to any wash, the purificatory nature of the rite is in itself manifest

20 *Sat.ŚS.*, p. 229, l. 4 f.; *Baudh. ŚS.*, p. 31, l. 9 ff.; *Śān.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 10, l. 22; *Āśv. ŚS.*, p. 33, l. 10 f., etc. According to *Āśv.*, the cord is to be folded twice.

21 *Śān.ŚS.*, p. 11, l. 1 ff.; also see immediately after the above references. See Varadattasuta Ānartīya on *Śān. ŚS.*, I, 15, 14; vol. II, p. 11 "Anekā apikuryuḥ."

22 E.g., *Sat.ŚS.*, p. 229, l. 21. मुख-मार्जनं पत्नी-संस्कारत्वात् प्रतिपत्न्यावर्तते ॥ These rites are also accompanied with Mantras. Cf. Nārāyaṇa on *Āśv.* p. 34, l. 6 f. अत्र पत्नी-द्वित्वबहुत्वे सर्वासां वचनं कर्तव्यम्: also प्रतिपत्नि योक्तृविमोचनमावर्तते, etc.

23 Cf. *Sat.ŚS.*, p. 229, ll. 26-28; *Āp.ŚS.*, Comm. on III, 10, 8.

24 *Baudh.ŚS.*, p. 32 अथ एनं ग्रहपतये, etc., *Sat.ŚS.*, p. 229, l. 29 f.; etc.

25 *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 135, l. 2; cf. *Āp. ŚS.*, VIII, 8, 14, *Kāṭ.* *ŚS.*, Chow. Ed. p. 334, l. 11.

26 VIII, 20, p. 12.

and therefore, all the wives should observe this. Moreover, the rite seems to have been originally intended for keeping a check over the wife and for keeping the blood pure; so all the wives should be subject to the interrogation. They are to confess any illicit connections they have had, otherwise their kith and kin, near and dear ones, would die.²⁷ By declaring the names of their paramours or at least by giving out the number of the paramours by means of raising up as many stalks of grass,²⁸ they become themselves pure and cause their paramours to be seized by Varuṇa with his noose. If they have none, they straightly say so and the whole thing is then so clear.

After the husband and the chief wife have offered oblations with the Karambha-pātra, all the wives unite their grass-cords.²⁹ They all go now for the Avabhṛtha (final bath). They have baths, but do not put their heads under water; they simply pour water on their heads.³⁰ According to Kātyāyana

27 *Tait. Brā.*, I, 6, 5, 2 f.; *Śat. Brā.*, II, 5, 2; *Baudh. ŚS.*, V, 5-9; vol. I, p. 136, l. 5 f. *Āp. ŚS.*, VIII, 6, 22. यज्जारं सन्तं न प्रब्रूयात् प्रियं ज्ञातिं रुन्ध्यात् । असौ मे जार इति निर्दिशेत् । निर्दिश्यैवेनं वरुण-पाशेन ग्राहयतीति विज्ञायते vol. II, p. 33. *Mān. ŚS.*, I, 7, 4; II, p. 55; l. 16 —p. 56, l. 1; *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. Ed., vol. I, p. 336, l. 8 f.; *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 465, l. 3-12.

28 *Kāt. ŚS.*, V, 5, 8-9; also, Chow. Ed., vol. I, p. 336, ll. 14-15.

29 *Āp. ŚS.*, VIII, 8, 14. इमं विष्यामीति पत्नी योक्तपाशं विमुच्यते ।

30 *Āp. ŚS.*, VIII, 8, 15; Rudradatta, सलिलोत्क्षेपणेन सशिरस्कौ स्नात इत्यर्थः *Baudh. ŚS.* अनुपमज्जन्तौ ।

and the Scholiast Karka³¹ the spouses should repair to some quiet part of flowing water and take a bath in the above manner. The chief wife and the sacrificer should wash the backs of each other and most probably, the other co-wives might help one another in washing their backs.

In the Sākamedha i.e. the third parvan of the Cāturmāsya sacrifices, when all the preliminary things necessary for the sacrifice have been done, the wives are brought forward and made to sit near the sacrificer.³² According to certain schools, here, unlike in other sacrifices, there is no girding of wives (Patnīsannahana) or any other accessory rite. According to Satyāṣādhā, the wife should look at the clarified ghee from her shed;³³ all the wives should do so as this is a part of the strīsaṃskāra. After the eating of the Idā, they should all anoint their eyes.³⁴ During the Tryambaka oblation, after the maiden has walked round the fire, the sacrificer pours into the hands of the wife the Māsara or rice-gruel, she in her turn pours this into the hands of the maiden along with the prayer that she (maiden) would achieve her object (Pati or Bhaga).³⁵

31 ज्ञात इत्यर्थः, V, 5, 30-33.

32 *Mān. SS.*, I, 7, 5; II, p. 57.

33 *Sat. SS.*, vol. II, p. 479, l. 24; Rudradatta on *Āp. SS.*, VIII, 14, 21; vol. II, p. 65. But see *Baud. SS.*, p. 141 f. तूष्णीं पृषदाज्य-
ग्रहणं सन्नह्य आज्येन च दध्ना च उदेहि इति ।

34 *Sat. SS.*, vol. II, p. 473, l. 11.

35 *Baudh. SS.*, p. 152, l. 12—p. 153, l. 1.

The object of this rite is only to obtain happiness in this world alone, and not in the other which is clear from the fact that only a single Vedic school (Baudhāyana) follows it. It is only reasonable that the rice-gruel should be handed over to the maiden, longing for husband or beauty, by her own mother and not by the chief wife. This offering of the rice-gruel means most probably a joint conferring of blessings upon the daughter by the parents and no doubt, her mother should offer her the material carrying her own blessings.

In the Paśuyāga, too, the wives are to be girded, says Baudhāyana.³⁶ After the animal is killed, they are raised up by Neṣṭr³⁷ or Pratiprasthātṛ³⁸ from their seats to the altar. They all look at and worship the Sun³⁹ with the prescribed mantra. Then they are led one by one to the east along with the prayer for offspring and increase of wealth.⁴⁰ All of them

36 Vol. I, p. 112.

37 According to the *W.YV. Ritual*.

38 According to the *YV. Ritual; Āp. ŚS.*, VIII, 18, 1; *Mān.ŚS.*, I, 8, 4, 2.

39 *Baudh.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 118, l. 8; *Mān.ŚS.*, I, 8, 4, 1; Rudradatta on *Āp.ŚS.*, VII, 18, 2 नमस्त आतानेति पत्न्यादित्यमुपतिष्ठते, अनेकाश्चेत् सर्वा युगपदुपतिष्ठन्ते, Mahādeva on *Sat.Ś.*, p. 424, l. 1 f., प्रतिपत्ति संस्कारत्वादावर्तते, etc.

40 अनर्वा प्रेहि, etc., *Baudh.ŚS.*, 118, l. 9, through the passage between Cātvalā and Utkara; Mahādeva on *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 424; Rudradatta on *Āp ŚS.*, VII, 18, 3. vol. I, p. 436 बह्वीस्तु एकैकां नयति प्रेहीत्येकवचनात् ॥

touch the water of the Cātvalā with the object of purifying themselves.⁴¹

In the Agniṣṭoma the wives have their nails pared by a barber in such a way that they do not extend beyond the upper end of the finger tips; the paring should begin from the little finger of the left hand. They brush their teeth with bits of the udumbara twig, taking care that they may not bleed. They bathe in stagnant waters full of Raṅkha and Avaka plants on mossy bathing ghats. According to the Vājasaneyā school they put a piece of gold in a pit and bathe therein. During their bath they invoke the waters for purifying them; while coming out, they mutter to themselves about the purity caused by the waters. Then they sip water. Unlike the priest, they are forbidden to have a hair-cut.⁴²

During the consecration for a religious ceremony (Dikṣā) they all wear on their heads nets made of thin silken thread or of wool collected from living rams or, at least, a net made of Kuśa grass;⁴³ these should hang on both sides of their head.⁴⁴ They are consecrated on their own seats with

41 आपो देवीः शुद्धायुवः Rudradatta on *Āp. SS.*, VII, 18, 4, स्पृशन्त्यपः सर्वाः पत्न्यः, similarly, Mahādeva on *Sat. SS.*, vol. II, 424, l. 10 f.

42 *Āp. SS.*, X, 5, 6—X, 6, 3 vol. II, p. 221, l. 1—p. 223, l. 10 (एवं पत्नी केशवर्जम्) ; *Sat. SS.*, vol. III, p. 584, l. 28 ff.

43 *Āp. SS.*, X, 9, 5, vol. II, p. 232, l. 4 f.; *Sat. SS.*, vol. III, p. 592, l. 7 ff.

44 Mahādeva on *Sat. SS.*, op. cit., l. 27.

upper silken garments that are slightly washed, new, white, with skirts and used by nobody else. The Prati-prasthātṛ anoints and decorates them without mantras.⁴⁵ The sacrificer is made to wear a girdle; they tie plough-nooses.⁴⁶

During the girding they observe the same rites as in the New and Full Moon sacrifices (Darśapūrṇamāsa).⁴⁷ Herein Āpastamba prescribes that the mantra "Āsānā saumanasam, etc.: Beseeching favour," etc.,⁴⁸ should be dropped and "Saṃ tvā nahyāmi, etc.: I bind thee, etc.,"⁴⁹ should be used while Baudhāyana recommends the use of both of them. The nets are now closely fitted in so that there may not be any chance of their loosening or falling down.⁵⁰ The Prati-prasthātṛ fastens pegs in the skirts of their clothes in order that they may scratch their skin, if required, with them.⁵¹ They should not take meat and honey, nor do any impure act.⁵²

45 *Kāt. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 433, Sūtra 77.

46 *Āp.ŚS.*, X, 9, 16; vol. II, p. 233, l. 15 ff., अत्र दर्श-पूर्णासावत् पत्नीं संनहति सं त्वा नह्यामीति विकारः । *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 592, l. 22 f.

47 *Āp.ŚS.*, X, 9, 16, vol. II, p. 233, l. 15 f.; *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 594, l. 14 f.; *Baudh.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 160, ll. 18-19; *Kāt.ŚS.*, Chow. Ed., vol. I, p. 437, Sūtras 99-100.

48 *Tait.Śamh.*, I. l. 10 (e-h). 49 *Tait.Śamh.*, III, 5, 6, 1 (c).

50 Gopinātha on *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 595, l. 9 f.

51 *Baudh.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 161, l. 8-9.

52 Rudradatta on *Āp.ŚS.*, X, 15, 13-14 vol. II, p. 248, ll. 17 ff.

यावदुक्तं पत्न्या दीक्षित-व्यञ्जनानि (Sūtra 13); समानं ब्रह्मचर्यम् (Sūtra 14).

In the afternoon of the day of their consecration they all keep silent, breaking their vow when the stars appear.⁵³ They approach the Gārhapatya fire from behind the altar silently.⁵⁴ The milk for breaking their fast is boiled on the Southern fire while that of the sacrificer on the Gārhapatya; they drink it in their own seats in the mid-day as well as midnight.⁵⁵

In the morning on the second Upasad (sacrificial festival preceding the Sutyā or pressing of the Soma; it is a part of the Jyotiṣṭoma and lasts several days) when the sacrificer gives dust of the cow's foot-print to the chief wife, all the wives look at it and pray that they may not be deprived of wealth.⁵⁶ Then either the Neṣṭṛ⁵⁷ or the sacrificer himself⁵⁸ makes the Somakrayaṇī cow look at them, whereupon they

53 *Āp.ŚS.*, X, 16, 1 f.; vol. II, p. 252 f.; *Kāt. ŚS* Chow. Ed., p. 439, Sūtra 107.

54 *Baudh.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 163, l. 15-16.

55 *Āp.Ś.*, X, 17, 3 ff., vol. II, p. 253, l. 5 ff. (particularly Sūtras 6 and 13); *Baudh.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 164, l. 4-6.

56 Gopinātha on *Sai.ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 629, l. 14-15, सर्वाभिरिच्छणं कार्यं संस्कार-कर्मत्वात्, cf. *Āp.ŚS.*, X, 23, 5.

57 According to the *W.YV. Ritual*.

58 According to the *B.YV. Ritual*.

pray for having children.⁵⁹ They in their turn look at the sacrificer and pray for having heroes.⁶⁰

During the offering of the buck-goat to Agni and Soma on the last day of the Upasad session, the Neṣṭṛ leads them all towards the front of the sheds; near the sheds they utter a prayer for safe entrance into them with their desires fulfilled.⁶¹ They all sit near about there and pray to Agni to draw his attention to them.⁶² Now, the sons and grandsons together with their wives, unmarried daughters,⁶³ nephews and other relatives are invited to participate in the Family Union. The sacrificer touches Adhvaryu from behind, all the wives⁶⁴ similarly touch the sacrificer; the sons

59 *Vāj. Samh.*, IV, 23; *Sat.Brā.*, 3, 3, 1, 12; *Kāt.Ś.*, VII, 6, 26. *Tait. Samh.*, I, 2, 5, 2; *Kāth. Samh.*, II, 5; *Āp. ŚS.*, X, 23, 6: Rudradatta, vol. II, p. 272, ll. 3 अत्रानेकासामपि तन्त्रेण संख्यापनं विभुत्वात् । Similarly, Gopinātha on *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 629, ll. 19-21; *Baudh.ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 170, l. 6-7.

60 *Tait. Samh.*, I, 2, 5, 2; *Baudh.ŚS. op. cit.*, l. 7; Rudradatta on *Āp. ŚS.*, X, 23, 7, सर्वाः पत्न्यः, etc.

61 *Tait. Samh.*, III, 5, 6, 13; *Āp. ŚS.*, XI, 16, 10; *Mān. ŚS.*, II, 2, 4, 9 अनुगामिन् instead of अनुकामिन् ; etc.

62 *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 736, l. 10 ff.

63 But not the married daughters, as their Gotra has been changed (along with the Caturthikarma); Gopinātha on *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 739; l. 6.

64 Gopinātha on *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 739, l. 1. सर्वा अपि पत्न्यो यजमानमेवान्वारभन्ते सर्वा असवर्णाश्च । They participate in this rite as

touch their mothers and the grand-sons touch their fathers; other relatives touch the grand-sons and so on.

In the night preceding the Sutyā or pressing day, all of them together with the sacrificer sit behind the altar or the Gārhapatya; the Adhvaryu places the Vasatīvarī water in front of them; after they have touched it, they are again circumambulated by the Adhvaryu.⁶⁵ This whole night they are all kept awake in the Prāgvaṃśāsālā* by the priests who tell them holy interesting tales.⁶⁶

In course of the Prātaranuvāka (morning prayer) all of them should accompany the Maitrāvaruṇa, Neṣṭṛ, Agnīdhra and the bearers of the Ekadhana cups when they walk northwards out of the sacrificial ground.⁶⁷ As the object is to delude the Gandharvas with a woman so that the water,

amātyas (for the meaning of the word, cf. l. 5-7), not as Patni which they are not; पत्युर्नो यज्ञ संयोग इति पाणिनि-प्रोक्तस्याभावेन, (l. 2-4), etc.

65 *Sat. Brā.*, III, 9, 2, 14 f.; *Āp. ŚS.*, XI, 21, i, vol. II, p. 346, l. 1 f.; *Kāt ŚS.*, Chow. Ed., p. 508, Sūtra 256-260; Gopinātha on *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 758, l. 25, पत्न्यनेकत्वे सवः, etc.

* A room with some columns or beams towards the east where the family and friends of the sacrificer assemble.

66 *Āp. ŚS.*, XI, 21, 12, vol. II, p. 348; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 762, l. 1.

67 *Sat. Brā.*, III, 9, 3, 16 f. The Ekadhanas are water-vessels by means of which water is taken up during sacrificial observations.

sap of the sacrifice, may be carried to a safe place, all the wives should join in this rite.

In the early morning on the Sutyā (the extraction and solemn preparation of Soma) day all of them, each carrying one or two vessels, pass through the Tīrtha i.e. the path to the altar between the Cātvaṛa and the Utkara, carry water for washing their feet (pannejanī) and return by the same way as they go.⁶⁸ According to Āpastamba they should have their faces towards the west while filling the pitchers.⁶⁹ They enter the sheds by the east door, walk round the side-altars called Dhiṣṇīya and place the pannejanī pitchers to the west of the side-altar or Neṣṭr.⁷⁰ Then they come back and enter into the shed called Prāgvaṃśa.⁷¹

In the afternoon they are all given milk for breaking their fast.⁷²

68 *Tait. Samh.*, 3, 5, 6, 2; *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. ed., p. 517, sūtra 44 "two vessels." Gopinātha on *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 793, l. 15 f.; सर्वाभिरपि पत्नीभिः स्व-स्व-स्थाल्या ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, also l. 27 f.; similarly Rudradatta on *Āp. ŚS.* For passing through Tīrtha, Rudradatta on *Āp. ŚS.*, XII, 5, 4.

69 *ŚS.*, XII, 5, 12, vol. II, p. 366; पत्नी पन्नेजनीगृह्णाति प्रत्यङ्-तिष्ठन्ती वसुभ्यो रुद्रेभ्य आदित्येभ्य इति ; पत्न्यनेकत्वे सर्वा गृह्णन्ति । यज्ञाय वः पन्नेजनीगृह्णामीति मन्त्रान्तः । तथैव पेठतुर्बो धायन-भारद्वाजौ ।

70 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 794, l. 3 f.; *Āp. ŚS.*, XIII, 5, 13 f.; vol. II, p. 367; *Baudh. ŚS.*, VII, 15, vol. I, p. 225.

71 *Op. cit.*, l. 21-22.

72 *Sat. Brā.*, III, 6, 3, 4.

During the evening pressing of the Soma juice all other wives touch the chief when the latter looks at the Pūtabhṛt vessel containing the Soma juice after it has been strained.

After the Pātnīvata cup has been offered, the Neṣṭṛ leads all the wives⁷³ through the sheds, which they enter by the west door. They all take their seats to the north of the Chanters.⁷⁴ Now, the Neṣṭṛ makes them exchange looks with the Udgātṛ along with a prayer to Agni for children.⁷⁵ Now, they should remove clothes from their right thighs; according to Satyāśāḍha⁷⁶ the thigh joints also should be denuded; this view is not upheld by Āpastamba.⁷⁷ They should pour water along their thighs so that it may run down towards the interior of the thighs, but it must not touch their navels.⁷⁸ According to the Kāṭhaka School, as quoted by

73 Gopinātha on *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. IV, p. 932, ll. 17-18, पत्नी-संस्कारत्वात् प्रतिपत्तिः : if any of them is in course of monthly period, every rite in connection with the Pannejanī drops.

74 *Kāt.ŚS.*, X, 7, 3, Webers Ed., p. 817; Chow. Ed., p. 563, Sūtra 141.

75 *Sat. Brā.*, IV, 4, 2, 17-18, *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, I, 1f.; *Baudh. ŚS.*, VIII, 14, vol. I, p. 255; *Lāt. ŚS.*, II, 10, 15, p. 181, l. 12 f.; *Āp.ŚS.*, XIII, 5, 8; particularly commentaries on *Lātyāyana* and *Kātyāyana* (*op. cit.*). The Mantra: *Tait. Samh.*, III, 5, 6(k); *Vāj. Samh.*, VIII, 10, (*Sat. Brs.*, *op. cit.*, 18).

76 *Srauta-sūtra*, vol. IV, p. 932, l. 3 f.

77 Rudradatta on *Āp. ŚS.*, XIII, 15, 11 यथोरु-सन्निर्नाविष्कृतः स्यात्तथोपाद्धरेद्वासः ; also Gopinātha Bhaṭṭa on *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*

78 *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, l. 9 ff.

Yājñikadeva, commentator of the *Kāt. ŚS.*⁷⁹ they should bend their knees and wet the skirts of their garments with water from the vessels. Kātyāyana and his scholiast, Lātyāyana⁸⁰ and the Kāṭhaka⁸¹ say that they should exchange looks with the Udgātṛ three times at the sound *Hiṃ*. Three times they should uncover and pour Pannejanī water on their right thighs so that after the third time there will be no water left. On the order of the Udgātṛ they should retire to their own place.⁸²

According to the *Baudh.ŚS.* the pegs that were fastened to their skirts during the Dikṣā should now be silently thrown to the Cātṛvāla when they all together with the sacrificer and the priests are about to go for the final bath called Avabhṛtha.⁸³

During the Avabhṛtha they also participate with others in the concluding passage called Nidhana sung in chorus three times.⁸⁴ When the water comes to their sight, they pray to Varuṇa for overcoming the enmity and removing the sins they have committed.⁸⁵ After the bath they wear the

79 X. 7, 4, p. 818, Weber's ed.

80 P. 181, l. 14—p. 182, l. 8; so also Drāhyāyana as quoted therein. Yājñikadeva on *Kāt. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, छन्दोग-सूत्रम्, p. 818, l. 2-3, Weber's ed.

81 Karka on *Kāt. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, एवमेव काठकेऽपि ।

82 *Kāt. ŚS.*, X, 7, 5.. 83 VIII, 18, vol. I, p. 259, l. 9-10.

84 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. IV, p. 941, l. 10 f.

85 Mahādeva on *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, l. 29; *Tait. Samh.*, *Mait. Samh.*, I, 3, 39; etc.

Paryānahanas, outer clothes tied round the Soma bundle.⁸⁶ While coming back to the sheds by the same way they went, they together with the sacrificer or the priests with Hotṛ at their head are led by the priest called Unnetṛ.⁸⁷

During the Udanīyestī⁸⁸ the Patnīsannahana or the girding of wives and Yoktra-vimoka (the untying of the rope) take place in the same way as in other sacrifices.

In the Pravargya or Hot Milk Sacrifices, when the Mahāvīra pot is heated, they all cover their heads, according to the *Śatapatha*,⁸⁹ for fear of being deprived of eyesight, because the Mahāvīra is the symbol of Āditya,⁹⁰ and according to the *Mānavāśranta-sūtra*,⁹¹ for having children. The Prāgvaṁśa is also screened⁹² so that they cannot see from their seats the preparation of the Pravargya; according to Satyāṣāḍha,⁹³ the doors are shut; and according to Baudhāyana⁹⁴

86 *Mān.ŚS.*, I, 4, 45, 1; also quoted in *Kāt.ŚS.*, X, 9, 6; *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. IV, p. 1092, l. 24.

87 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. IV, p. 964, l. 26-27.

88 *Sat.ŚS.*, vol. IV, p. 448, l. 17-18.

89 XIV, 1, 3, 16; Weber's Ed., p. 1029; S.B.E., vol. XLIV, p. 463.

90 For the connection of the Pravargya sacrifice with the Sun-worship, cf. *Sat. Brā.*, XIV, 1, 2, 15; 3, 16; 3, 1, 35.

91 IV, 1, 33; p. 154.

92 *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 265, l. 20; *Sat. ŚS.*, (n. 5) and Rudradatta, *Āp. ŚS.*, XV, 5, 2, vol. II, p. 643, l. 4-5.

93 *ŚS.*, vol. IX, p. 359, l. 11 f.

94 Vol. I, p. 270, l. 18.

hanging load-carriers (śikyā) are hung from above to serve as screens. According to Kātyāyana,⁹⁵ even though they may be very near, they should not look at the Pravargya; they should themselves cover their heads during the preparation. All the wives should observe this injunction, as otherwise it would be prejudicial to their own good; and as, according to the *Mānava-śrauta-sūtra*, this is really a strī-saṃskāra. After the Mahāvīra has been revered, their heads are uncovered. They keep on looking at the Mahāvīra pot and pray to Him for cattle and offspring and a safe happy life to themselves as well as to their husband.⁹⁶ According to the *Mānava-śrauta-sūtra*,⁹⁷ the sacrificer also looks at it along with them.

During the setting out of the Pravargya, all the priests and the sacrificer meet upon the altar in the shed and three offerings are made to the Āhavanīya. While coming out of the shed, the Adhvaryu remains⁹⁸ behind them all. According to Āpastamba,⁹⁹ they are to go back to their shed while several sacrificial staff, viz., pegs, strings, etc., are

95 *ŚS.*, XXVI, 2, 3, Weber, p. 1098; Chow. ed., vol. II, p. 1027, Sūtra 30; XXVI, 3, 2, Weber, p. 1100; Chow. ed., 1030, Sūtra 49.

96 *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 276, l. 18-19; *Sat. Ś.*, and Vāñchīśvara-sudhi, vol. IX, p. 872, l. 9 and 11; *Āp. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 656, l. 14-16; *Kāt. ŚS.*, XXVI, 4, 12, p. 1102, Weber's Ed. etc.

97 IV, 2, 37; p. 153.

98 *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. Ed., vol. II, p. 1039, Sūtra 119.

99 *Āp. ŚS.*, XV, 13, 4.

carried away by attendants. They are to come back to the sheds when the Prastotr begins to sing the Sāman. He sings it three times, in the finale of which the wives¹⁰⁰ also join.

In the Piṇḍa-pitr-yajña the husband gives all the wives portions from the middle cake for having children. They all pray to the ancestors for children adorned with lotus-garlands.¹⁰¹

Now, we deal with the wives in general in the Domestic Ritual. The first sthālīpāka is really a part of the marriage ceremony and as such each wife is entitled to perform this rite. Each one should cook at other times, too, in so far as the cooking happens to be a part of any of the strī-saṃskāras. The wife takes her meal in the day time together with her husband and avoids meat, etc. During the night she sleeps on the floor and refrains from any impure act. Next day she cleanses thrice the sacrificial place with a duster and thrice all around the fire with water.¹⁰² The husband, after having the paddy washed, spreads the hide of a black deer, places mill-stones thereon and pours some paddy into them. She husks the paddy thrice and gets the rice perfectly in order. She

¹⁰⁰ *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. IX, p. 888; *Āp. ŚS.*, XV, 13, 10; vol. II, p. 671; *Lāt. ŚS.*, 1, 6, 4-6, p. 54-55; so also *Drāhyāyana* as quoted in *Lātyāyana*; etc.

¹⁰¹ *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 255; *Āp. ŚS.*, 1, 10, 10-11, vol. I, p. 36-37, Rudradatta: अन्न पत्नीबहुत्वे विभज्य सर्वाभ्यः प्रयच्छति दान-मन्त्रश्चाऽऽवर्तते; *Āśv. ŚS.*, (*ĀŚ. S.*) 2, 7, 13, p. 73, l. 10-14.

¹⁰² *Āśv. GK.*, 1, 2, 13-14, p. 265.

washes it thrice and cooks it. While cooking, she sprinkles clarified butter upon it by means of the purifying Kuśa grass.¹⁰³ The husband places this full cooking vessel on strewn grass. Then she sits to the left of her husband and to the west of the Gārhapatya fire, and offers to Agni and Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. After the offering the husband does all the cleansing work during this particular occasion, but during the Pumsavana, etc., she is required to cleanse the sacrificial staff, etc.¹⁰⁴

As Garbhādhāna¹⁰⁵ is a strī-saṃskāra, each wife observes this rite.

103 *Op. cit.*, I, 2, 30 f., p. 266, for husking and cooking, cf. *Hir. GS.*, I, 23, 2-4; for cooking, cf. *Vaik. GS.*, III, 5, p. 39, l. 13.

104 *Āsv. GS.*, *op. cit.*, v. 57 f., p. 268.

105 *RV.*, Schools: *Śān. G. Saṃgraha*, i. 19. (*IS.*, pp. 35, 130; p. 9, Benares ed.). *Śān. G. Saṃgraha*, p. 19. *Āsv. G. Parīṣiṣṭa*, 125, p. 217. *Saunaka-kārikā*, p. 23; Kumāṛila's *Kārikā*, I, 4; p. 269. *Prayogaratna* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, 37 f. Āśvalāyana does not deal with the sacrifice, but refers to some Upaniṣad. Saunaka in his *Kārikā* (p. 30 of the MS.) refers to one *Yajñopaniṣad*. It seems from his statement that the ritual as is described in his *Kārikā* differs from that of the *Yajñopaniṣad*.

In the *Vaikhānasa-grhya-sūtra* III, 10, the Garbhādhāna is mentioned as distinguished from Rtu-saṃgamana (III. 9), and the Pumsavana, according to this school, is to be held in the 4th month. But according to all other authorities who deal with the rite, it is the rite observed for having the wife's pregnancy. The Mantras uttered in this rite cannot mean otherwise. The *Rtu-saṃgamana* does not find place in any other Grhya-sūtra except the

The wife, on the night chosen for the rite, takes a bath and adorns herself with ornaments, clean clothes and

Vaikhānasa. This rite has, however, been given importance in the *Prayogas*, *Paddhatis* and specially in the *Compendia*.

Authorities differ whether the *Garbhādhāna* should be observed in each case of the wife's pregnancy, or it should be observed once for all. Thus, *Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa* says "This sacrament purifying the womb named *Garbhādhāna* is in way of purifying the object itself. So, as the object, the wife, is once purified, and pregnancy that occurs in it (her), is purified. So this rite should be observed once only." So also is the case with "*Puṃsavana* and *Simantonnayana*." But *Karkopādhyāya* holds the opposite view: "These three sacraments are to be repeated in every pregnancy, otherwise no *saṃskāra* of the following pregnancies is to be considered as observed." Again, *Vijñāneśvara* says, "*Garbhādhāna* should be observed in each case of the wife's pregnancy, but not *Puṃsavana* and *Simantonnayana*." *Śūlāpāṇi* says, "*Simantonnayana* is not to be repeated, but *Garbhādhāna* and *Puṃsavana* are to be observed again and again." *Tarkālankāra* in the *Commentary* on *Gobhila* thinks that *Garbhādhāna* and *Puṃsavana* need be repeated in each pregnancy, but not *Simantakarāṇa*.

The question remains to be solved, if the *Garbhādhāna* is to be repeated in each case of the wife's pregnancy, and if the *Puṃsavana* rite should also be observed in that *Rtu* when the *Garbhādhāna* is also going to be performed. The *Rtusamgamana* really serves the same purpose as the *Garbhādhāna* does. Moreover, from the treatment by several authorities of the *Garbhādhāna*, it seems that according to them the *Garbhādhāna* is but a ceremonial observance of the *Rtu-samgamana* for the pregnancy of the wife, failing which first the *Nārāyaṇa* *Bali*, and still failing, the *Nāga* *Bali* are to be observed. So there does not seem to be any necessity of the separate observance of the rite *Rtu-samgamana* in that monthly period of the wife when the *Garbhādhāna* is held.

wreaths.¹⁰⁶ The husband pounds the root of the *Adhyāṇḍā*¹⁰⁷ or the *Phalinī*¹⁰⁸ plant or of the *Aśvagandhā*¹⁰⁹ or the *Dūrvā* grass,¹¹⁰ and drenches some portions of a piece of cloth with the juice of it. When the wife comes, specially decorated for the ceremony, the husband presses out the juice into the right¹¹¹ or both¹¹² the nostrils of the wife with the appropriate verses of the *Rgveda* (X. 85. 21-22).¹¹³

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa mentions that the husband should bathe the wife in the morning with the water from the pitchers adorned with five twigs with new leaves. After the bath the wife adorns herself with auspicious dress and ornaments. After the offerings of the *Prājāpatya* and the *Ājya* oblations, the head of the wife is touched. Agni and *Āditya* are worshipped and during the worship of the latter the wife joins her husband.

Kālesi in his *Paddhati* mentions that the juice of *Śukaśimbi* pressed out by ladies with husband and children living is to

106 *Ā. G. Parisiṣṭa*, *op. cit.*, Kumārila's *Kārikā*, *op. cit.*, *Prayogaratna* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, p. 38(2).

107 *Ś. G. Sūtra*, *op. cit.*, p. 9, l. 1.

108 *Ś. G. Saṃgraha*, *op. cit.*, l. 19.

109 *Ā. G. Parisiṣṭa*, Śaunaka, Kumārila and *Prayoga-ratna*, *op. cit.*

110 *Ā. G. P.*, *op. cit.*

111 *Ś. G. S.*; *Ś. G. Saṃ.*; Kumārila and Śaunaka; *Prayogaratna* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, *op. cit.*

112 *Ā. G. Parisiṣṭa*, *op. cit.*

113 According to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the wife had to sit on her left knee.

be sprinkled into the right nostril of the wife. The rite is to be observed only once. According to *Vaikhānasa*,¹¹⁴ the husband should first of all, sprinkle the clarified butter upon the fire and then make the wife adorned with auspicious ornaments and clothes, sit down. After sacrificing oblations to *Dhātṛ*, *Varuṇa* and *Agni Svistakṛt*, the husband gives the wife some barley-corns. Then she is made to partake of the three-fold food (a mixture of the equal portions of milk, sour curds and melted butter). After the wife's *ācamana* (sipping water), the husband strokes her body from the navel upwards for three times with the stalk of a *kuśa* grass with the prayer for having a child as desired.

According to *Baudhāyana*,¹¹⁵ if the husband and the wife want a "Śrotriya" son,¹¹⁶ they are to worship *Arundhatī*, take unsalted food, lie on the floor and observe chastity for three nights. They wear unwashed clothes and ornaments every morning and evening, hold bow and arrow and worship fire during this period. On the 4th day they are to offer an oblation of cooked rice. If they want to have an *Anūcāna*¹¹⁷ son they observe the vow for 12 days; if a *Ṛṣikalpa*¹¹⁸ son, for

114 III, 10.

115 *Baudh. GS.*, I, 7, l. 48; p. 24 f. *Baudh. G. Śeṣa-sūtra*, 2. 2. l. 7, p. 236 ff.

116 A *Śrotriya* is one who has read one *Sākhā* of the Veda; see *Baudh. GS.*, I, 7, 3.

117 अन्नाध्यायनूचानः; *Baudh.*, I. 7. 4.

118 कल्पाध्यायी ऋषिकल्पः; *Baudh.*, I. 7. 5.

one month; if a Bhrūṇa¹¹⁹ for 4 months; if a Ṛṣi,¹²⁰ for six months; if a Deva,¹²¹ for one year.

In the due period the wife takes her bath with a view to observing the rite. In the night the husband adorns her and utters the appropriate mantras. On the following day, the Nāpita-karma¹²² is to be observed. The husband and the wife give the barber rice mixed with milk (rice pudding) and go towards the east or the north of the village. When they come across an Udumbara tree, they walk round it, sprinkle water on it and anoint it with scented things. Having covered it with flowers, they offer the Bali oblation. Then they go down into knee-deep water (in some pond), put fish in an unwashed cloth with the skirts stretched towards the bank and ask a Brahmacārin to tell what he sees. He replies that he sees sons and cattle. Then they offer these fish as Bali to herons. Now they throw off the flowers, etc., cast off the remnant of food, put off their clothes and hang them on the Udumbara twigs. They take a bath, wash each other's back and swim towards the deep of the water. Having anointed each other and worn red or unwashed clothes, they go home in a carriage or on foot, have a wash, sip water and begin to

¹¹⁹ सूत्र-प्रवचनाध्यायी भ्रूणः; *Baudh.*, 1. 7. 6.

¹²⁰ चतुर्वेदाहृषिः; *Baudh.*, 1. 7. 7.

¹²¹ अत ऊर्ध्वं देवः; *Baudh.*, 1. 7. 8.

¹²² The barber comes, pares the nails, and gets some remuneration.

sleep without a word. Next morning they talk again during the Vaiśvadeva.

The *Baudh G. Pariśiṣṭa*¹²³ prescribes a different procedure. Here the husband, after entertaining Brāhmaṇas, worships the fire and offers oblations. Ājya oblations are offered to Sviṣṭakṛt. Then the husband and the wife partake of the rice which is offered to Savitr. Whatever they desire to obtain, they contemplate at that time. According to the *Paśupati-paddhati*, the husband should, after his morning duties, make his wife sit to his right, and touch her heart with his hand stretched over her right shoulder and murmur the appropriate mantras. If after the performance of the rite as described the object is not achieved, the husband, during the next time unearths the root of a white-flowered Kaṇṭikāri and keeps it in some secret place. On the due date the husband and the wife fast. After nightfall, the wife, having worn unwashed clothes and sipped water sits to the left of her husband with her face, towards the east. He pounds the above-mentioned root with sprinkled water and sprinkles it into the right nostril of the wife. According to the school of Hiranyakeśin,¹²⁴ the husband and the wife should, after their morning duties, sip

¹²³ II, 2, pp. 236-37.

¹²⁴ The *Grhya Sūtra* does not deal with the subject. But the *Paddhatis*, e.g., *Samskāra-paddhati* of Bhāskara Śāstrin, p. 40 f. and *Samskāratramālā* of Bhaṭṭa Gopinātha Dikṣita, p. 649 ff. deal with the Ritual.

water. While the husband performs the preliminary rites the wife adorns herself with clothes,¹²⁵ ornaments and flower-wreaths, anoints and embalms herself and chews betel. She should become thinner by means of Three Nights' observance or inadequate meals.

According to Bhaṭṭa Gopīnātha, commentator of Hiraṇyakeśi GS., under certain circumstances, the Śānti rite should be performed before observing the Garbhādhāna rite.

If the object be not achieved after the Garbhādhāna rite has been duly performed, the rites known as Nārāyaṇa Bali and Nāga Bali should be performed.¹²⁶ The former is for averting the evil influence of the demons and the second for being relieved of the sin incurred by killing a serpent or serpents in the previous birth. On the day chosen for the performance of the Nāga Bali, both the husband and the wife, with the things necessary for the performance of the rite, go to a holy place, wear clean garments, make a serpent of the powder of rice, sesamum, etc., place it on a winnowing basket and utter the propitiatory mantras.

The *Samskāra-ratna-mālā* also prescribes the gift of a golden cow and the hearing of the *Hari-vaṃśa* for removing the barrenness of the wife.

125 According to Gopīnātha, she should wear unwashed clothes.

126 For the rite, see *Samskāra-paddhati*, p. 42 f., *Samskāra-ratna-mālā*, p. 696 f.

Bhavadeva in his *Paddhati* says that after nightfall an oblation is to be offered to Sūrya first of all, and then, the mantras as mentioned above are to be uttered. The husband stands behind the wife who sits with her face towards the East. While uttering the mantras, the husband should stretch his right hand from behind on the right shoulder of the wife. Then he touches the navel of the wife with a piece of gold and mutters: "Omn. Be the mother of excellent long-living children. May you, O all-blessed one, be the nourisher of the embryo without difficulty! O one dedicated to vows! give birth to a long-living child, prolon-ger of the race". Then a woman with husband and sons living should give the wife Pañcagavya sanctified with the above-mentioned mantras.

It does not seem necessary that the wives who have established śrauta fires need observe the domestic New and Full Moon sacrifices separately,¹²⁷ because they agree closely in the deity and other details with those of the śrauta; the only difference is that offerings of peeps are substituted for cakes and no offerings to Indra or Mahendra are made. It is also distinctly clear that much importance cannot be attached to these rites as they have not been mentioned at all by a good many Gṛhya authorities like Bharadvāja, Laugākṣi (Kāthaka), Baudhāyana, Jaimini, and Sāṅkhāyana.

¹²⁷ Cf. *Bandh. GS.*, IV, 9, 1. p. 336.

*Mān. GS.*¹²⁸ and *Āśv. GS.*¹²⁹ simply mention them in names.

On each New and Full Moon night they perform these sacrifices together with their husband. They are required so bathe and eat the fast-day food in the afternoon.¹³⁰ They prepare a Sthālī-pāka from which the husband offers oblations to the various deities. Then they should, according to Pāraskara,¹³¹ offer the Bali outside the house to the wife, the Man, Age, and the black-toothed white one, the Lord of bad women and those who, dwelling in the village or the forest, allure their offsprings. They then pray for welfare and offspring. They sleep that night on the ground; according to the Commentator on Gobhila,¹³² they may sleep on the self-strewn grass (svastara), too. They together with the sacrificer are expected to, the Chief Wife must, pass that night with mutual entertainment recounting tales or other discourses. They commit nothing impure on that night. If the husband is on a journey, the chief wife acts as his substitute.¹³³

128 II, 3, 3.

129 I, 10, 5.

130 *Drāh. GS.*, II., 1, 4; *Gobh. GS.*, 1, 5, 26, p. 219.

131 *Pār. GS.*, 1, 12, 4, p. 130, Bom., ed.; Karka, *op. cit.*, I. 23; Jayarāma, p. 131, l. 6f.; Harihara, *op. cit.*, l. 37f.; Gadādhara, p. 134, l. 10f.

132 *Gobh. GS.*, 1, 6, 5, p. 223, l. 5f.

133 *Gobh. GS.*, 1, 6, 9, p. 225.

In regard to the seasonal sacrifices, the *Mān* GS.¹³⁴ says, in the event of the absence of the chief wife and the sacrificer even a *Śūdrā* wife is entitled to offer the morning and evening oblations to Serpents in course of the daily observance of the *Śrāvaṇa* sacrifice up till the *Āgrahāyaṇeṣṭi*. So there is no doubt that all other wives are entitled to offer the same in the event of failure of the chief wife. As all the women of the household are allowed to participate in the rite of alighting from the bedstead,¹³⁵ there is no doubt that all the wives join in it; they should, with their children on their lap or by their side, sit in accordance with seniority of the time of their marriage one after another next to the chief wife.

Now, so far as the purificatory (*Aurdhvadehika*) rites are concerned, the same rites are performed for each of them without any distinction whatsoever. If the pregnant wife dies, she should be, first of all, sprinkled with water mixed with cow's urine. When the dead body has been removed to the crematorium, the husband cuts open the child from the left side of her womb; if the child is still alive, he gives it the breast of its mother along with the prayer that the breast may be an exhaustless spring of plea-

¹³⁴ *Mān. GS.*, II, 16, p. 192; particularly, *Aṣṭāvakra* on the same. Cf. *Bhār. GS.*, II, 1, p. 32.

¹³⁵ *Harihara* on *Pār. GS.*, III, 2, p. 321, 1. 5, अन्नं स्त्रीणामपि मन्त्र-पाठः.

sure, wealth-giver, etc.,¹³⁶ and puts it in front of the dead mother. He then tries to revert the opened womb to its normal position, at least, to make it look as though no operation has been made; anoints it with curd mixed with sacrificial clarified butter; and bathes her with water mixed with mud, ashes, Kuśa and cow's urine. She is now wrapped up in new clothes and cremated.¹³⁷ Keśavasvāmin in his *Baudhāyana-paddhati*¹³⁸ says that if the husband sees the child still alive, he should offer a sacrifice there with the prayer expressive of his pleasure to get the child alive, bathe it and carry it home; then, fourteen offerings are made and then she is cremated in accordance with the usual rites. The *Karma-kāṇḍa-pradīpa*¹³⁹ also quotes the opinion that herein the wife should be laid with her head towards the south, the left side of her belly measuring four fingers from the navel should be cut open. If the child be dead, it

136 For the Mantra: *AV.*, 7, 10., i; *Vāj. Samb.*, 38, 5; *Mait. Samb.*, IV, 9, 4. etc.

137 For these facts: Śaunaka as quoted in *Madana-ratna*, *Karma-kāṇḍa-pradīpa*, f. 410a, l. 4f. Also cf. *Grhya-kārikā* (Renu) and Baudhāyana as quoted herein; Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Antyeṣṭikriyā*, f. 213a, l. 9f.

138 Folios 161-62. According to him if the child be living till then, another sacrifice should be offered on the 8th day in which cows, landed property, sesamum, gold, etc. should be given in gift.

139 *Op. cit.*, 1, 7f.

should be washed and buried. The operated part should be sewn with a thread, and anointed with clarified butter. Then after due offerings and gifts, she should be cremated.

If the wife dies after child-birth, or during her courses, she should be bathed with water mixed with Pañcagavya, according to the *Karma-kāṇḍa-pradīpa*, hundred times,¹⁴⁰ covered with a new cloth and cremated in accordance with the usual rites.¹⁴¹ According to *Vṛddhaśātātapa*,¹⁴² no saṁskāras and such other rites should be performed for a menstruating woman; she should be bathed and cremated after three nights (most probably, after the passing away of the Impurity). Gadādhara in his *Kāla-sāra*,¹⁴³ thinks the cremation, either on the same day or after the passing away of the period of Impurity, is optional, i.e. it depends upon the intention of the chief mourner; preference, however, is given to cremation after the period of Impurity.¹⁴⁴ If she dies in a foreign country and as a consequence, the

140 Folio 409b, l. 1.; cf. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, *op. cit.*, f. 212b, l. 12f.

141 *Karma-kāṇḍa-pradīpa*, f. 409a, l. 14; 409b, l. 1. According to the *Baudhāyana-paddhati* (f. 162) the water should be mixed with cow's urine.

142 As quoted in *Karma-kāṇḍa-pradīpa*, f. 409. l. 4-5.

143 P. 123.

144 The *Madana-ratna* thinks cremation within the period of Impurity should take place in emergency cases; *Karma. KP.*, f. 409b, l. 6f.

above-mentioned rites are not performed, her bones are to be collected and purified with Pañcagavya bathing and ceremonially burnt again.¹⁴⁵

If the wife of a Sāmavedin dies, be she the eldest one or any other,—she should be cremated with her face downwards.¹⁴⁶ During the collection of her bones, the sprinkling and such other rites should be done with water from an earthen water-vessel.¹⁴⁷ According to the Āśvalāyana school, a vessel should be marked as feminine with the sex marks made prominent.¹⁴⁸

On the śrāddha days the wives should not have their hair dishevelled, should not cry, laugh or talk for nothing.¹⁴⁹

As the eating of the cake is not meant for supermundane bliss, all the wives are entitled to partake of the cake or cakes; if there are six, they partake of the middle two.¹⁵⁰ According to Chāgaleya, as quoted in the *Śrāddha-mañjarī*,

145 According to Devayājñika, as quoted in *Karma. KP.*, f. 409b. l. 2-3.

146 *Karma. KP.*, f. 399c, छन्दोगानां स्त्री-मरणे विशेषः etc.

147 *Jaim. GS.*, II, 5, p. 30, l. 20; p. 31, l. i.

148 *Āśv. GK.*, i, 5, 4, p. 320, Bom. ed.

149 *Śrāddha-mañjarī*, p. 1.

150 *Śrāddha-mañjarī*, p. 39. *Śrāddhatattva*, p. 200. *Śrāddha-sūtra-kandikā*, Pār. *GS.*, Bom. ed., p. 484, l. 34; 485, l. 4. *Manu.*, Nir. ed., p. 126, v. 262; according to *Kullūka*, however, only the eldest wife should eat it. *Khā. GS.*, III, 5, 30, p. 118 (Aṣṭika). *Mantra-Brahmaṇa*, II, 3, 1.

the cake should be divided into as many portions as there are wives and each wife should be given a portion. According to the *Prayoga-pārijāta*, if six cakes have been offered in the Śrāddha and the sacrificer has two offered, each wife should be given one cake. If there are a good many wives, a selection should be made in accordance with qualities, age and period. Or, each of them may be given one cake at the end of each Śrāddha. According to the *Mayūkha*, the eating of the middle cake is only optional, and not indispensable. A wife who is sick, afflicted (with some mishap) or otherwise incapable,¹⁵¹ should not eat the cake. According to *Āpastamba*, an ill-disposed or evil-hearted wife should also be avoided.¹⁵² If the wives are not desirous of having children, they may not eat the cake.¹⁵³

As the first wife and the husband raise up the fires and are really the protectors of them, the husband is not entitled to give up the fires on the death of any other wife than that of the first. In case of the death of the latter, an *Āhitāgni* is to cremate her with fire kindled from a new fire-drill or produced from the either half of a jar heated on the *śrauta*

151 *Candrikā*, p. 402, *Saṅkhalikḥita* quoted.

152 *Āp.*, as quoted in *Smṛti-candrikā*, p. 403.

153 Cf. the *Śrāddha-kāṇḍa* in *Smṛti-candrikā*, p. 402, where various authorities have been quoted with reference to this. Also see *Gobh. G. Pāṇiṣṭa*, p. 125, पुत्र-कामा । *Jaim. GS.*, II, 3, p. 29, A. 9-11 (in all the Śrāddhas).

fires.¹⁵⁴ The husband is to relinquish the fires as he offers these to her in her death. The second wife (and naturally the third wife and the following) must not be offered the sacred fires in death; the husband is not entitled to relinquish the Agnihotra out of fascination for her in which case he would be considered as the relinquisher of Brahman.¹⁵⁵

Miserable indeed is the position of a Śūdrā wife from the religious point of view. From the beginning the Ārya-Śūdrā marriage seems to be a matter of accident¹⁵⁶ and sometimes, most probably, of expediency,¹⁵⁷ on the part of the husband and as such the Śūdrā wife seems to have

¹⁵⁴ *Jaim. GS.*, II, 5, p. 30 of *Caland's* ed.; for Comm., *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹⁵⁵ *Kātyāyana, Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa*, Ch. XX, p. 334.

¹⁵⁶ The custom of giving slaves as presents to princes (*RV.* VIII, 19, 36) and priests (as sacrificial fee), ritualistic recognition of Ārya Śūdrā Union (*Tait. Samh.*, VII, 4, 19, 2, *Vāj Samh.*, XXIII, 50, 31), employment of Śūdrās as Anucaris and Pariveśṭrīs (*Śat. Brā.*, XI, 2, 7, 4; *Kauṣ. Pan.*, 11, 1, slave-concubinage, (cf. *AV.*, 22, 6; XII, 3, 13; 4, 9) etc. helped many Śūdrās to rise to the favour of Aryan Masters, so much so that most probably—not infrequently, they married them. Several Sūtrakāras make provision for one Śūdrā wife of one belonging to the higher castes (e.g. *Par. GS.*, i, 4, 10). Cf. *Vaśiṣṭha*, 1, 25, and for his own view, the following Sūtras.

¹⁵⁷ It seems the King married the Pālāgali Queen for political purposes.

deserved nothing more than a few privileges from an Aryan husband; at least she has no claims in religious matters.¹⁵⁸ It is definitely stated by Manu¹⁵⁹ that she can never be the first wife of an Aryan. Even though married, she simply serves to lead the family of the husband to degradation and the progeny to the status of Śūdras; a Brāhmaṇa is strictly forbidden either to cohabit with or have a child by her.¹⁶⁰ The sacrifices offered by her husband are not acceptable.¹⁶¹ If he enters her bed immediately after taking a funeral feast, his forefathers will suffer from lying in her Impurities for a month.¹⁶² The Pālāgālī cannot participate in any rite in the politico-religious ceremonies as she is a Śūdrā by birth.¹⁶³ A Śūdrā wife of one belonging to one of higher castes is not entitled to churn the fire.¹⁶⁴ The only instance where a Śūdrā wife is allowed to act as a substitute in a rite is the Śrāvaṇa sacrifice, where in the absence of the chief wife and the sacrificer and all other wives she may offer the daily oblation

158 *Manu.*, III, 18; *Viṣṇu* XXVI, 5. For the legal incapacity of her children: *Baudh. DhS.*, II, 2, 3, etc.

159 *III*, 14.

160 *Op. cit.*, 15-17; also 19. *Viṣṇu* XXVI, 6; *Vāś. DhS.*,

I, 27.

161 *Vāś. DhS.*, XIV, 11,

162 *Gaut. DhS.*, XV, 22.

163 *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 2, 6, 7; V, 3, 1, 11.

164 *Karma-pradīpa*, I, 8, p. 115.

to snakes. But the rule is by no means universal as it is found only in the *Mān. GS.*¹⁶⁵ and in no other text.

In spite of all these religious incapacities, the *Sūdrā* woman considers herself fortunate in having an Aryan husband; the *Tait. Samh.*¹⁶⁶ says in this case she does not care for wealth or prosperity.

It is sure that in religious matters, and therefore in secular matters too, a certain number of women were compelled to lose many rights. There is no doubt that polygamy to a certain extent leads to the deterioration in the position of women. This was, however, counterbalanced by polyandry which has been known in ancient, and in a lesser form in modern¹⁶⁷, India.

There are reasons to believe that polyandry existed in ancient India. The ancient Seers would never have mentioned of a common wife of the Maruts and of the Aśvins if polyandry were unknown or discarded in the society.¹⁶⁸ The *Atharvavedic* verses¹⁶⁹ saying that a woman even after having had ten former husbands, can still marry more, can-

¹⁶⁵ II, 16, p. 192; particularly, the scholiast Aṣṭāvakra.

¹⁶⁶ VII, 4, 19.

¹⁶⁷ Westermarck, *Short History of Marriage*, chap. X; *History of Marriage*, pp. 252-55.

¹⁶⁸ Rodasī and Sūryā. *AV.* I, 167, 4-5; the express reading of the *RV.* with reference to Rodasī, is साधारणी पत्नी common Wife.

¹⁶⁹ V, 17, 8-9.

not but refer to polyandry. The case of Draupadī in the *Mahābhārata* is well-known; and the great epic asserts this much, that having many husbands is a desirable qualification for women.¹⁷⁰ In support of Draupadī's polyandrous marriage it cites the case of Jaṭilā Gautamī, Vārksī, etc. Gautamī married seven Ṛṣis; Māriṣā married ten Havirdhānas¹⁷⁷ and her son Dakṣa is known as the son of ten fathers.¹⁷³ The former in their turn married Tārā in common.¹⁷⁴ Āpastamba¹⁷⁵ says a daughter is given to the family of her husband though it is, in his time, forbidden. He, most probably, refers to the *Tait. saṃh.*¹⁷⁶ which says that the daughter is given to the family. Brhaspati¹⁷⁷ also mentions that the delivery of a marriageable damsel to a family is found in other countries (than his own). The *Purāṇas* also know about it.¹⁷⁸

As the polygamous husband observes religious rites with

170 *Mah. Bh.*, I. 202, 8. ईप्सितश्च गुणः स्त्रीणामेकस्या बहुभर्तृता ।

171 *Op. cit.*, I, 126, 7266; cf. *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, I, 15.

172 *Op. cit.*, I, 33, 3130; *Hari-vamśa*, V, 66 f.

173 *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 42.

174 *Op. cit.*, IV, (Kiṣkindhyā. Tārā-vākyaṃ) *Padma-purāṇa*, IV, 112; 143-146.

175 *Dh. S.*, II, 10, 27, 3.

176 *VI*, I, 6, 5.

177 *Dh. S.*, XXVII, 20.

178 *Brahma*, 15, 48; 54; *Matsya*, 44, 66-70; *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 71, etc. The *Kunāla Jātaka* (Jt. No. 536) mentions that Princess Kaṇhā had five husbands at a time, all of whom she selected in a svayamvara assembly.

the eldest wife, the polyandrous wife observes them with the eldest husband. The same reasons we have seen in the case of a polygamous husband in connection with the first wife would apply here, too. Draupadī had once to gaze at hell because she was more fond of Arjuna than her eldest husband Yudhiṣṭhira. Polyandry as well as Polygamy deprived a certain number of women as well as men of various religious rights. These twin usages seem to have counterbalanced the effects of each other on the society, and consequently, on the position of women as men and, at least, no emphasis can be laid on Polygamy as leading to deterioration in the position of women without any counteraction.

Just as the wife is enjoined to please the husband, the husband is also enjoined to please the wife.¹⁷⁹ Where the wife and the husband are whole-heartedly pleased with each other, they acquire the three objects of life (Tri-varga). They must remain satisfied with mutual partnership in all matters; they must not even think of others; for the violation of these rules they incur the same sin and undergo the same punishment without any distinction whatsoever.¹⁸⁰ For grave offences¹⁸¹ they separate from each other or they may marry again. She may remarry, if her first husband is impotent, outcaste or dead or for other (similarly grave)

179 *Manu*, III, 60-61.

180 *Parāśara*, 4, 12-13; similarly, *Devala*, *Bṛhaspati*, etc.

181 For those of the wife: *Yājñavalkya*, 3, 72-73.

reasons.¹⁸² She or he is to remarry, however, on the fullest knowledge that her or his marriage for the second time cannot be considered as a sacred ceremony (saṃskāra). Even though she or he remarries another unmarried man or woman, still the marriage cannot be accredited as a saṃskāra as each saṃskāra is to be observed only once in life and her or his marriage ceremony has been completed for ever in the first marriage.

From time immemorial¹⁸³ the wife has doubly blest her husband, by procreation as well as by participation in sacrifices. In this connection her epithets "Jāyā" and "Pātnī"¹⁸⁴ are, no doubt to some extent, significant. But this "Jāyātvā" and "Pātnītvā" are by no means separable in a clear-cut way as her Jāyātvā serves really for her Pātnītvā. She performs a religious duty by means of procreation. She as well as her husband have been born as owing debts to the gods, to the Ṛṣis, to the fathers and to man.¹⁸⁵ In

182 *Vaś. DhS.*, XVII, 20; *Manu* IX, 175-176; *Yājñ.*, i, 67; cf. also *Kāma-sūtra*, p. 248 (Nir. Ed.), *Sūtra* 31 (with Yaśodhara's Commentary); *Baudh. DhS.*, IV, l. 16; II, 2, 3, 27; *Viṣṇu* XV, 7; *Nārada* XII, 45ff.

183 For the Indo-Iranian period; W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum*, p. 244.

184 *Pāṇini*, IV, 1, 33; cf. *Sat. Brā.*, I, 9, 2, 14. But Patañjali does not observe this distinction.

185 *Sat. Brā.*, I, 7, 2, 1; also IX, 4, 1, 5; *Tait. Brā.*, VI, 3, 5; 10; III, 7, 9, 8; *AV.*, VI, 117, 3; *Tait. Āraṇ.*, VII, 11, 5; *Tait.*

order to liberate themselves from the debt to fathers, they are to marry and have children:] the fathers in the other world depend for their continuance on the offerings of their children.¹⁸⁶ The ardent desire for having children for religious purposes has given women an extremely high position.¹⁸⁷ So it is only natural that she almost always prays to gods for children.¹⁸⁸ Owing to the urgent necessity of having children, productive unions are always to be effected in rituals so much so that even the vessels, spoons or other sacrificial implements are often imagined as males and females. Progeny is one of the primary objects of performing sacrifices. The wife as the bearer of this highest

Upaṇ., I, 9; *Ait. Āraṇ.*, I, 3, 5, 6; *Brh. Up.*, VI, 4; *Vaś. DhS.*, VIII, 11; *Baudh. DhS.*, II, 3, 2, 1, etc.

186 It will be seen in this connection that in the water-libations and Śrāddhas, water and cake are offered to the parents of both the mother as well as the father.

187 *RV.*, I, 9, 20; III, 1, 25; X. 85, etc. *AV.*, III. 23, 2; V, 25, 11; VI, 11, 2, etc. *Tait. Samh.* VI, 3, 89, 5; *Tait. Brā.*, I, 5, 6; *Ait. Brā.*, VII, 13; *Ait. Āraṇ.*, II, 3, 7, 3; 5, 1, 1-7; *Chāṇḍ.* *Upaṇ.*, V, 9, 8; *Brh. Upaṇ.*, VI, 2, 13; etc.; etc.

188 Compare the references mentioned as "mantras", prayers, etc., in previous pages. Cook informs us in his *Zeus*, vol. II, p. 1114, that even at the present day women slide down rock in front of the church in order to propitiate Saint Marina for having children; cf. Miss M. Hamilton's *Greek Saints and their Festivals*, Edinburgh and London, 1910, p. 58f. as quoted by Cook.

blessing on earth deserves respect from the husband as well as from the society. The husband is bound to respect her as in her, the Jāyā, he is born again, and as she, offered as great Brilliance to him by the gods and the seers, is his mother again.¹⁸⁹

According to Cook, Greek women are excluded from the cult of Theos Megus, Zeus and Tachnepsis,¹⁹⁰ from Mithraic rites,¹⁹¹ and the race of Drypole;¹⁹² but there is not a single Vedic ritual from which they are excluded. In the Pravargya sacrifice the wife wraps up her head. This does not mean exclusion at all; on the other hand, it is a part of her ritualistic observances in the sacrifice, as, after this observance, she joins in other rites in the sacrifice. According to a few authorities¹⁹³ the wife should be debarred from the Sapiṇḍana if she has neither husband nor sons. Mārkaṇḍeya¹⁹⁴ thinks even though her husband may be living, unless she has any issue she is not entitled to have the Sapiṇḍana, Hemādri¹⁹⁵ thinks the mention of the son is significant of the husband and so there is no contradiction in statements of these authorities. But there is no doubt

189 *Ait. Brā.*, VII, 13,

190 *Zeus*, vol. II, 985.

191 *Op. cit.*, p. 1053.

192 *Op. cit.*, P. 486.

193 *Paṭibhāsi* and *Vyāsa*, as quoted by Hemādri in *Caturvar-gacintāmaṇi*, p. 1654, l. 2-5, and 5-11.

194 सपिण्डोक्तं तासां पुत्राभावे न विद्यते ।

195 *Op. cit.*, l. 7-8.

that these authorities are opposed to equally outstanding authorities. The *Ṣaṭ-trimśat-smṛti*¹⁹⁶ as interpreted by Kṛṣṇamīśra is in support of the Sapiṇḍikaraṇa being held even though the wife may be a widow as well as sonless. The *Dharma-pradīpa*,¹⁹⁷ too, as quoted by the same authority holds the same view.

Even though the authority of the first school be followed, there is no reason to think that it would be prejudicial to the high position of the wife. Under similar circumstances the limitations are the same for the wife as for the husband. If the husband is a widower and sonless, the Sapiṇḍana may be performed for him by his brothers' sons; otherwise it is wholly omitted. In the same circumstances the Sapiṇḍana for the wife, too, may be performed by the sons of her co-wives, otherwise the omission is as inevitable as in the case of the husband. Moreover, the object of the Sapiṇḍana is to relieve the man from the state of a man; such a state of the wife in the above circumstances will cease because of the performance of other Śrāddhas.

The woman is always pure.¹⁹⁸ Soma gives them Purity, Gandharvas sweet voice, Fire All Purity—as gifts for their enjoyment with her. The woman can by no means be

196 *Pār. GS.*, Bom. ed., p. 504, l. 37; p. 505, l. 4.

197 *Op. cit.*, l. 6.

198 Yājñavalkya, l. 71.

contaminated.¹⁹⁹ Whatever be the sin of a wife in the meantime, it is sure to be drained out of her body and she becomes absolutely pure.²⁰⁰ Her temporary Impurity is the cause of All Purity.²⁰¹ The Brāhmaṇa is pure only in the feet, but the woman is pure in all her limbs.²⁰² Her mouth is never impure.²⁰³

The stress laid by the authorities on the ritualistic impurity of women during their monthly course, pregnancy and childbirth is due to their physical incapacity or some other unavoidable cause or causes. The injunctions are all very reasonable pieces of advice and cannot at all hint at their inferiority in position.

During her period she is not in her normal state of health;²⁰⁴ authorities, therefore, make compulsory rules

199. *Vaś. DhS.*, XXVIII, 5-6; *Bauh. DhS.*, II, 2, 4, 5.

200. *Vaś. DhS.*, XXVIII, 2-3. In mind also: *Manu* V, 108; *Viṣṇu*, XXII, 91; cf. *Mahābhārata*, 165, 32.

201. *Vaś. DhS.*, XXVIII, 4; III, 58; V, 4. *Yājñavalky*, 1, 72; *Baudh. DhS.*, II, 2, 4, 4.

202. *Vaś. DhS.*, XXVIII, 9. *Śat. Brā.*, V, 2, 1, 8 (some parts of her body to be covered with Kuśa grass) refers to the temporary Impurity and suggests an extra precaution.

203. *Yājñ.*, 1, 193; *Baudh. DhS.*, 1, 9, 2; *Viṣṇu*, XXII, 49.

204. Anton Nemilov, *Biological Tragedy of Women*, ch. VI, 105f.; particularly the section on "Menstruation and its significance," p. 115f. For the legendary cause of menstruation, *Tait. Samh.*, II, 5, 1; ch. *Bṛh. Up.*, 3, 4, 3; *Vaś. DhS.*, V, 5-9. Fear

which she should follow at that time²⁰⁵ and declare that she must not be tempted to observe any rite as it is sure to make her undergo some painstaking observance at least. Even though she may not be bodily present therein, several rites, viz., the New and Full Moon Sacrifices, the Pinda-pitr-yajña, the daily oblations, etc., are allowed to be performed. These are allowed, simply because they would otherwise cause some hindrance, necessitate some atonement owing to the lapse of the proper time. The performance of the optional sacrifices, the Paśuyāga, the Soma sacrifice, etc., is barred in her absence. Sacrifice continues, but in spite of her absence, she gets the benefit of its performance. Kātyāyana, however, mentions that if she becomes impure during the Soma Sacrifice, she should continue wearing her Dikṣā-garments, stay in sand during the emission, and should, finally, take her baths before the Altar during the morning and evening with water mixed with cow's urine

for unclean women in Rituals: *Sat. Brā.*, III, 1, 2, 19. Impediment to Vedic Studies, *Sān. GS.*, II, 12, 10; VI, 1, 3; cf. *Āp. DbS.*, 1, 3, 9, 13. For the various taboos on women during menstruation and childbirth among various peoples: Frazer, *Taboo*, Part II, pp. 145-156.

205 *Bandh. GS.*, 1, 7, 22ff. For exhaustive treatment: *Saṃskāraratnamālā*, pp. 649-694 (various authorities have been quoted here). *Saṃskāra-paddhati*, p. 40: according to this Paddhati, during her first menstruation only, she may wear garlands of yellow and scented flowers and chew betels, not in others.

(on the fourth or fifth day : ²⁰⁶ as this a śrauta sacrifice she may have her bath on either). If she is observing the impurity for childbirth, she should take her (purificatory) bath after a period of ten nights and participate in sacrifices. Some think a pregnant woman should not be initiated to the Soma sacrifice. According to the Dharma-sūtras, she may participate in the Agnihotra even within the period of impurity for childbirth. According to Baudhāyana, she may participate in the New and Full Moon sacrifices, too. ²⁰⁷

If the wife is herself to perform the Śrāddha for the dead husband, and in the meantime she cannot do so for some reason or other she does it later. ²⁰⁸ The wife has to cook the food to be served to the Manes. So, according to certain Authorities, if on the Śrāddha day she is impure, the Śrāddha should be performed with uncooked rice. If she has a co-wife, she might cook, but the Kālādārśa says it is improper (as cooking in the Śrāddhas is the absolute Right

206 *Samskāra-paddhati*, p. 40. I. 20-21.

207 For the above information: Commentary on *Āp. SS.*, IX, 2, 1, vol. II, p. 106; *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Jābali*, *Bharadvāja*, and *Baudhāyana*, as quoted in the above (p. 107); *Sat. SS.*, XV, 1, 39-41, vol. VI, pp. 269-71. For the Garbhini-prāyaścitta: *Āp. SS.*, IX, 20, 7, vol. II, p. 200. For the Rajasvalā wife in the Soma Sacrifice, *Sat. SS.*, vol. IV, p. 993ff.

208 *Śrāddha-sūtra-kaṇḍikā*, *Par.*, *GS.*, p. 466, l. 17; *Śrāddha-mañjari*, pp. 97 and 181.

of the Chief Wife) and the Śrāddha should be performed on the expiry of the period of her menstruation. It is, however, sanctioned that only the Annual Śrāddha should be performed with cooked rice (which, it seems, should be cooked by the sacrificer himself) even in this case.²⁰⁹ The *Samskāramayūkha* quotes Vṛddhagārgya to show that the Vṛddhiśrāddha may be performed during her monthly illness.²¹⁰ The above rules hold good if the wife is observing Garbhāśauca (impurity for pregnancy).²¹¹

If the sacrifices are performed in her absence, the husband atones on the fourth night (after she has taken her purificatory bath). He tells her that half of the sacrificial merit could not be acquired on account of her absence; he is therefore atoning along with the utterance of the prescribed mantras and praying that the merit be now acquired after the observance of the atonement.²¹²

The wife has been depicted throughout the Brāhmanic literature in the loveliest colour. Sachī boasts not a little to

209 For the varying opinions on the subject: *Śrāddha-mañjarī*, p. 181.

210 p. 16.

211 Ch. *Śrāddha-mañjarī*, p. 97, एवं गर्भिण्याम् अपि । As the eating of the middle cake is meant for pregnancy, it is only natural that during her pregnancy she is not given the same again.

212 *Āp.ŚS.* and *Sat.ŚS.* and scholiast thereon as mentioned above.

say that her husband must conform to her will and her frame is the most precious thing to her husband.²¹³ Her pride is quite justified as in prayers to gods she seers again and again refer to her as the ideal of love, sweet relationship, etc. Vāmadeva invokes Indra with the tenderness which a husband has for his wife.²¹⁴ Atri invokes and prays to the Āśvins with the faith a wife has in her husband.²¹⁵ Viśvāmitra prays to Pūṣan to accept his offerings, listen to his thought, and be to him what a husband is to his young wife.²¹⁶ Vāmadeva prays to Indra to love his voice as the husband loves the voice of his well-beloved wife.²¹⁷

Vasu addresses Soma Pavamāna saying that Soma loves him just the same as a wife loves her husband.²¹⁸ When the husband goes out for fight, she orders that the generous Soma be prepared; when he has already gone, she prays to Indra for his protection.²¹⁹ The husband excites himself to all the mighty deeds with the sweet hope that she would proudly lean on his victorious arm after the victory.²²⁰ With so much influence over her husband it is only natural that she, the most blessed gift from the gods Aryaman, Bhaga;

213 RV. X, 159, 2-3.

214 RV. IV, 20. 5.

215 RV. V, 78. 4.

216 RV. III, 62. 8.

217 RV. IV, 32, 16 (3rd *Aṣṭaka*, 6th Adh., Sūkta II).

218 RV. IX, 82, 4.

219 RV. IV, 24, 8.

220 RV. X, 27; 12.

Savitṛ and Purandhi, would be the mistress of her household²²¹ having full sway over the father-in-law and others.²²² Careful and active,²²³ benevolent,²²⁴ untiring in endeavours to satisfy the husband²²⁵ by any means whatsoever—the wife, best friend of her husband²²⁶ in all her majestic glory, reserves the right of having her own favourite goddesses and gods to be worshipped towards the end of the sacrifice. She would not let the sacrifice be finished unless her Agni Gṛhapati has been satisfied with the oblation in the Patnī-samyāja. Of all gods her nearest connection with Agni is manifest. 'Agni enjoys her as her third God Husband.'²²⁷ He is her

221 RV. X, 85, 36.

222 RV. X, 15, 46; AV. XIV, 2, 18.

223 RV. I, 66; 79.

224 RV. V, 61; particularly, Rc. 9.

225 RV. IV, 3, 2; X, 71, 4. She has no grievance even against her guilty gambling husband. She suffers in silence, but has against him neither anger nor a hard word; her love for him and goodness towards his friends are constant. The guilty husband is sorely mortified—not so much for anything else, as for making her suffer. RV. X, 34.

226 She is so ever since she performs the Saptapadi (the rite of taking Seven steps) during the Wedding Ceremony. *Sān. GS.*, I, 4, 5, seq.; *Gobb.* II, 2, 11; *Khā. GS.*, I, 5, 26; *Hiran. GS.*, I, 20, 9, seq.; *Āp. GS.*, 4, 16, etc.; etc. *Bṛh. Upan.*, I, 4, 3; *Āit. Brā.*, VII, 13.

227 RV. X, 85, 40-41; AV. XIV, 2, 3-4.

Lover, her God²²⁸ and is the Aryaman between her and her husband and makes them one-minded.²²⁹ He brings about sexual union and causes pregnancy.²³⁰ In rituals she always sits by the side of her Fire.²³¹ We have seen her in connection with Fire-worship before:²³² beginning from her marriage when she offers the oblations for the first time down to the end of her life she worships the Fire, but the worshipper is inseparable from the worshipped;²³³ her Fire accompanies her in her death; if her husband dies before her, she gives Him (Fire) with him.²³⁴ Her fire saves her from having a co-wife.²³⁵ She herself feeds him with a log at the end of every sacrifice. So it is only natural that she would not allow the sacrifice to be finished without ceremoniously celebrating his worship. The priests, during the Patnī-samyāja, leave their respective places, come by her

228 RV. I, 66, 8.

229 RV. V, 3, 2.

230 *Sat. Brā.*, III, 4, 3, 4-5; *Sān. GS.*, I, 17, 9.

231 E.g. Scholiast on *Āp. SS.*, VI, 5, 2; *Kāt. SS.*, Chow. ed.

p. 274, *Sūtra* 193.

232 See *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1940, The wife in the Vedic Ritual. For particular stress laid on fire-worship by the wife, see *Saṅkha.*, IV, 15; *Ūna. Samh.*, p. 409; *Kātyāyana*, XIX, 3; *op. cit.* p. 333.

233 *Gobb. GS.*, I, 3, 15; *Khā. GS.*, I, 5, 17; *Sān. GS.*, II, 16, 3; *Gaut. DhS.*, V, 40; RV. III, 53, 3; *Sat. Brā.*, III, 3, 1, 10f.

234 *Karma-kāṇḍa-pradīpa*, f. 398a, l. 8ff.

235 *Āp. DhS.*, II, 5, 11, 13f.

side, and offer various oblations to Him. She thus firmly establishes her connection with her Agni.

She also sees that the wives of gods are worshipped before the sacrifice is finished. The wives of the gods worshipped before are invoked herein to have equal share of oblations with their husbands. The sacrifice cannot be ended without the satisfaction of the wives and their human counterpart. After the Patnī-samyāja she once again partakes of the Idā; the Samyu-vāc is recited and Samśrava oblation is offered. She concludes the sacrifice by having uttered the greetings to the priests and bidding good-bye to them.

Thus we see that in Vedic ritual the wife holds as important a position as the husband. As equal halves they perform the sacrifices with equal results. If the husband has many wives, the chief wife is, really speaking, the patnī in the strict sense of the term; she has many rights, in fact, all the important rights in rituals in precedence over her co-wives. Other wives (excepting Sūdrās) also join in the sacrifices and perform certain rites; anyway, they are not non-entities in religious matters so far as their personal earthly benefit is concerned. But the Sūdrā wife of an Āryan has no right in rituals whatsoever. Polyandry and polygamy as existing side by side in the country in varying degrees have counterbalanced each other. Both of them are, however, abnormalities as monogamy is always the

ideal of the society. The Vedic ritual imposes upon the widow as well as the widower equally formidable difficulties: the same are the problems for both; they are to decide which course would be the best for them. Even in the lifetime of both, they are allowed, in extreme cases, to remarry,—however, on the full knowledge that such marriages cannot be recognised as *saṃskāras*. The Vedic ritual nowhere gives any such evidence as to lead to the assumption that the wife is to be considered inferior in position to the husband: ritualistic injunctions on her in connection with her impurities are reasonable pieces of advice and cannot suggest any the least inferiority in her position. The ritual literature is full of praise for the wife, for her virtues, and it is no wonder that the concluding oblations are offered to satisfy her most revered and beloved God Agni and the Wives of the gods, and that she concludes the sacrifice with final greetings. Every Vedic sacrifice begins with the worship of the mother (*Mātrkā-pūjā*), culminates in the worship of the wife (*Patnī-saṃyāja*) and successfully ends with the worship of the Daughter (*Kumārī-pūjā*) just in the same way as the sacrifice of man's life (*Jīvanayajña*) begins with the worship of the Mother, culminates in the worship of the Wife (*Śakti-pūjā*; *Patnī-pūjā*) and ends with the worship of the Daughter.²³⁶

236 For *Patnī-pūjā*, cf. *Manu* III, 55, p. 88, Nir. ed.

THE WIDOW

CHAPTER I

THE WIDOW IN THE VEDIC RITUAL (NIYOGA)

CHAPTER II

WIDOW-MARRIAGE IN ANCIENT INDIA

CHAPTER III

WIDOW-BURNING IN ANCIENT INDIA

CHAPTER IV

THE WIDOW IN THE VEDIC RITUAL (MISCELLANEOUS RITES.)

The Widow In The Vedic Ritual.*

CHAPTER I

In Vedic Ritual the position of a widow is no more miserable than that of a widower. In the absence of the equal half, the other half becomes useless—in religious matters as well as in worldly affairs—and what the surviving half can best do is to pass away the remaining part of his or her life in absolute self-abnegation, proving loyal to the deceased one and offering homage to him or her in thought as well as in action. If they cannot observe this ideal, they can do what they consider best; the way is no more blocked for one than for the other. On the other hand, the widow has some special privileges over the widower as will shown below.

NIYOCA

The propagation of children is enjoined as a religious necessity because they keep the ancestors living in the other world. On this score the widower sometimes marries again. The widow, too, can remarry if she likes; but if she prefers to keep up the memory of her husband and live with her husband's family and at the same time have children, she

* Modern Review, November, 1941, pp. 472-473.

may have them by having recourse to Niyoga, or levirate.¹ Niyoga is a social custom allowing widow or even women with husbands living to have children by persons other than their husbands. It has been known in India from Rig-Vedic times.² Whereas the commentators try to interpret Āpastamba³ and Baudhāyana's⁴ sūtras in support of Niyoga, there is no doubt that Manu⁵ contradicts himself on the point as pointed out by Brhaspati.⁶ Vasiṣṭha,⁷ Gautama⁸ and Nārada,⁹ however, speak approvingly on the usage. Kautilya allows a queen to resort to Niyoga if an old king is badly in need of a competent and honest heir.⁹ Yaśod-

1 It was known in various ancient civilizations; see Spencer, *Sociology*, 1, p. 661; Deuteronomy, 25.5-10, etc.; Plutarch's *Lives*, *Lycurgus*, p. 86.

2 Rg-veda, x, 40, 2; see also Nirukta, 3, 15 and Durgācārya on the same.

3 ii. 6, 13, 7.

4 ii. 2, 34-35. Haradatta, however, explains the Gāthā away by saying that it represents the sentiments of a neglectful husband.

5 ix. 68; 57-cp. v. 162; ix. 120f. In fact, he contradicts himself on this point as pointed out by Brhaspati.

6 E.g., Manu ix. 59-60.

7 xvii. 6-9, 63-64; cp. Manu ix. 50.

8 ii. 9. (xviii), 9-14. (No. 14). See Viṣṇu, xv, 3; see also Nanda Paṇḍita's comments on the same.

9 xii. 54f, see also xiii. 14.

hara also in his commentary on Vātsyāyana¹⁰ mentions that a brother-in-law often becomes the lover of the eldest sister-in-law; this also seems to refer to Niyoga.

The Niyoga is nothing but making virtue of a necessity and after conception, she must not meet again the person appointed for Niyoga.¹¹ She can appoint for Niyoga her husband's younger brother, some kinsman or near relative of his or even an outsider during the life-time of her husband with his consent if he is incapable of procreating or after his death, if she is childless.¹² She may also do the same if the husband be away from home for some years, and for some reason or other, she does not like to leave her husband's family and remarry. As is only natural in ancient societies, the younger brother of the husband is preferred for the purpose as the issue, in that case, carries the maximum quantity of blood of the family of the husband possible under the circumstances.

10 Vātsyāyana, chap. 23. p. 262, 1, 8, "Jyeṣṭhabhāryā bahu-devarakā" commentary, *op. cit.*, p. 263, 1, 7-8 Nirṇaya-sāgara ed. 1891}.

11 Nārada-dharma-sūtra, ii. 1. 20; ii. 2.

12 According to Gautama (xxviii. 45), issues raised are to be treated as sons of a śūdra wife by a Brāhmaṇa, cp. Viṣṇu-smṛti, xv. 37.

For a list of persons to be preferred, see Vasiṣṭha-dharma-sūtra, xviii. 79. For instances of Niyoga, see Mahābhārata i. 103, 104.

A wife or a widow must not, however, be forced to have recourse to Niyoga¹³ for inheritance or similar purposes.

Baudhāyana¹⁴ and Vasiṣṭha¹⁵ say that a widow desiring Niyoga should avoid meat, honey etc. and sleep on the ground for a short period not exceeding one year. After six months of the death of her husband, she offers a funeral oblation to her husband and with the approval and aid of her brother or father, and relatives of her husband, and also in consultation with the Gurus of her family, she chooses the man to have an issue by her.¹⁶ A characterless, mad, diseased or very aged widow is not entitled to Niyoga.¹⁷ Sixteen years after maturity is the proper time for Niyoga.¹⁸ A sickly person is to be avoided for the purpose.¹⁹ She must be economically independent of the person whom she appoints for Niyoga and provide for the necessary expenses for food, unguents, etc. herself i.e. from the estate of her husband.²⁰ An issue by Niyoga i.e. a kṣetraja²¹ son is second in position only to the real son,

13 Vasiṣṭha-dharma-sūtra, xvii, 65 रिक्थलोभान्नास्ति नियोगः ।

14 iii 4, 7-9.

15 xvii. 55-56.

16 Vasiṣṭha-dharma-sūtra, xvii. 56.

17 *op. cit.*, xvii. 57-58; Nārada, xii. 83-14.

18 *op. cit.*, 59.

19 *op. cit.*, xvii. 60.

20 *op. cit.*, xvii. 61.

21 For the definition of the kṣetraja son, see Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra, ii. 23, 17.

being decidedly better than an adopted son. In the list of inheritors, his position is second to that of the aurasa or real son begotten by the husband himself.²² An adopted son or daughter coming as he or she does from outside cannot claim precedence over the Niyoga-son who has the blood of the family in him.

Thus we find that the Niyoga is sanctioned under the following circumstances:

1. When the wife (with her husband living) or widow is childless.
2. When the wife has children, but they are not honest and competent. This is a special concession granted only to a queen, with her husband incapable of any further procreation, for in this case a competent heir is absolutely necessary for the good of the whole country.
3. But when a wife or a widow has already a good and competent child or children, Niyoga is not allowed under any circumstances.

Further the Niyoga always needs the approval of her husband if living or of her father or brother and husband's families, and then alone the children begotten can be regarded as legitimate, enjoying all the social and legal privileges of

²² Viṣṇu, xv. 3; Manu, x 158-181; Yājñavalkya, ii. 127f.; Nārada, xiii. 45.

those born in wedlock. Otherwise they are considered illegitimate. This strong emphasis on the approval of the husband, the heads of families and Gurus clearly shows that there is nothing underhand in this practice of the Niyoga, but it is a full-fledged social custom, approved, at least consented to, as necessary under certain circumstances. In course of time when Niyoga became unpopular in India the number of children to be raised by this device was lowered down to two, or even one.²³ But the Mahābhārata expressly states that the number should be three and no more,²⁴ though in still earlier times, it points out, a larger number of children could be thus raised. Thus Vyūṣitāśva's wife Bhadrā is said to have obtained seven sons,²⁵ Bālirāja had eleven sons; Kaksivat and others had one maid²⁶ and five

23 Manu, ix, 61: Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra, xviii. 8—not more than two sons. Haradatta, however, explains the word as “not more than one son”. Saudāsa appointed Vasiṣṭha to have one son (Aśmaka) by his wife Madayanti.

24 Kunti says to Pāṇdu, i. 123, 76-77. p. 218, Citrasālā Press ed.

नातश्चतुर्थं प्रसवमापत्स्वपि वदन्त्युत ।

अतः परं स्वैरिणी स्याद्वन्धकी पञ्चमे भवेत् ॥

Kunti's sister Śrutasenā had also three sons by means of Niyoga. Saradandayini also did the same, one of them being Durjaya; i. 120, 38-40, p. 212 Citrasala Press ed.

25 Mahābhārata, i, 121, vv. 19ff, Citrasala Press, p. 213.

sons by his queen Sudeṣṇā²⁷. The Mahābhārata also makes the significant remark that further similar instances were not lacking.²⁸ Thus we see that whereas the widowers have three alternatives to choose from, viz., 1. the ideal one i.e. cherishing the memory of the departed wife, leading a celibate life; 2 remarrying for the sake of children i.e., for the sake of propitiating the forefathers; and 3. remarrying in spite of having children by the first wife, the widow is entitled to all these; in addition, she has another privilege, viz., having recourse to Niyoga. This is specially allowed in the case of the widow because her circumstances are different from those of the widower; she may desire to stay in her husband's family. If she, however, remarries outside her family, she has to leave her former husband's house. So a middle course was devised specially for her, viz. staying in her husband's family and having children by Niyoga. This proves that women were shown every possible consideration in Ancient India though it cannot be denied that this attitude unfortunately changed for the worse in later ages.

26 I, 104, 42ff.

27 *op. cit.*, v. 53, p. 193, Citrasala ed.

28 *op. cit.*, v. 56.

CHAPTER II

Widow-marriage in ancient India.*

If the widow considers life-long celibacy or the Niyoga¹ unsuitable and she must have a second husband, she is entitled to remarry. The following evidences may be adduced in support of the above contention: The Rg-vedic verse X.18.8², "Rise, O' woman, come towards the world of the living; thou liest by the side of this one whose life is gone. Be the full-fledged wife of (this) your husband who (now) grasps your hand and woos you" refers to widow-marriage. Hillebrandt's theory³ that this verse does not apply to the funeral ceremony at all is not tenable. He thinks the verse was used for summoning the queen to remove herself from the side of the dead and for no other

* Modern Review, January, 1942, pp. 68-71.

1 See The Modern Review, November, 1941, The Widow in the Vedic Ritual (Niyoga).

2 उदीर्ष्व नार्यमि जीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुपशेष एहि ।

हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभि संबभूथ ॥

The only other place except RV. X. 18. 8=AV. XVIII, 3, 2=Tait. Āraṇyaka, VI, 1, 3, where the word Didhiṣu occurs is RV. VI, 55, 5. There also the word means wooer. See Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, 1, 21; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 35 and Geldner, *RV. Commentur*, p. 154.

3 Zeitschrift der Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, 40, 708; Cf. *Ritualliteratur*, p. 153.

purpose at all.⁴ He formulates his theory on the evidence of the Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra⁵ according to which this verse is the first of the Utthāpinī verses that are employed for raising the queen. But he ignores totally the fact that the verse appears even in the Atharva-veda⁶ and the Taittirīya Aranyaka,⁷ not to speak of the Gṛhya-sūtras⁸ of the same standing as that of Śāṅkhāyana, as one of the mantras used during the funeral ceremony. There is no reason why the verse referring to the married woman, who is addressed as the wife of the person grasping her hand with a view to marrying her should be employed only during the Puruṣa-medha and not during the funeral ceremony. Again, the remaining Utthāpinī verses mentioned in the Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra (16.13.13) do not seem to have any specific connection with the Puruṣa-medha sacrifice. The well-known Ṛg-vedic verses X. 85. 21-22, which refer to Gandharva Viśvāvasu, appears throughout the Vedic literature, as marriage mantras. RV.X.53.8. has been included in the list of the Utthāpinī verses simply because it begins as Ut tiṣṭhata. It seems that the four Utthāpinī verses have been so called in the Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra.

4 Cf. Lanman, Sanskrit reader, Boston, 1888, p. 385; Delbrück, Die indische Verwandtschaftsnamen, p. 175; Jolly: Recht und Sitte, p. 78.

5 16, 13, 13.

6 18, 3, 2.

7 6, 1, 3.

8 Asvalāyana, 4, 2, 18; Vaitāna, 3.8.3; Kauśika, 80, 45.

simply because all the four verses begin with Ut or Uta. Hillebrandt emphasises that A.V.XVIII, 3.1-4. can only be taken in connection with the Puruṣa-medha sacrifice. But Śāṅkhāyana himself on whose authority he has to base his arguments, takes only the second verse in connection with it. In explaining these verses he thinks Jīva-loka, in the first verse means Pati-loka, Gopati pati and so on. These are certainly forced interpretations. There is no doubt that the verse is used in connection with the funeral ceremony; but the real difficulty lies in deciding about the true interpretation of the verse. Sāyaṇa himself gives different interpretations in different places. In interpreting the verse (RV.X.18.8.) which occurs in the Atharva-veda (XVIII.3.2.) as well, Sāyaṇa interprets its second line with reference to the first husband while he explains the same verse in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (VI.1) with reference to the second husband. Sāyaṇa interprets "Abhi saṃ babhūtha" as "Ābhimukhyena samyak prāpnuhi", taking Bhū in the sense of "getting"⁹ with the aid of Pāṇini's rule Chandasi Luṇlaṇḍiṭaḥ.¹⁰ Modern authorities have likewise differed in opinion. Among those who think the

⁹ See Bāla-manoramā, Uttarārdha, p. 300; Dhātu-pradīpa of Maitreya Rakṣita, Rajshahi, 1919, p. 146. It is a *curādigāṇīya* root.

¹⁰ III. 4, 6,

verse refers to the first husband are Roth,¹¹ Maxmüller,¹² Weber,¹³ Geldner¹⁴ and Monier-Williams.¹⁵ Whitney,¹⁶ Caland,¹⁷ Ludwig¹⁸ and Macdonell¹⁹ interpret the verse as referring to the second husband. According to these latter authorities, therefore, the verse sanctions widow-marriage. Some of the medieval authorities²⁰ have, no doubt, employed the verse as the prescribed mantra for the

11 Zeitschrift der Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, VIII, Die Todtembestattung indischen Altertum.

12 *Op. cit.*, Bd. 9. 1895, p. vi.

13 Sitzungsbar der Berliner Akademie, 1896, p. 255.

14 In A. Bertholet's Religious Geschichte und Lesebuch, Tübingen, 1908, p. 136.

15 Brahmanism and Hinduism, 4th edition, London, 1891, p. 280.

16 Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 8, p. 849. His opinion that the widow is to be remarried immediately after the misfortune befalls her is untenable.

17 Die altindische Todten und Bestattungs-gebräuche, p. 44.

18 Der Rig-veda, Bd. V, p. 525.

19 History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 126.

20 Kṛṣṇa Dikṣita, Aurdhvadehika-prayoga, India Office MS, No. 1270a, F. 96b.

उदीर्ष्व इति द्वाभ्यां मन्त्राभ्याम्...उत्थापयेत् ॥

Bhaṭṭa Harihara's Antyeṣṭi-paddhati, India Office Library MS, No. 674, F. 11b.

उदीर्ष्व देवरः शिष्या वा...करे धृत्वा उत्थापयेत् ॥

widow-burning in which case it can by no means refer to the second husband, but a reasonable doubt gains ground in view of the fact that none of the ancient authorities employ it for the same purpose. According to the former "Ud īrṣva" refers to the raising up of the wife on the funeral pyre and the "Jīva-loka" then, according to them, must mean some part in heaven. But this idea is a later development and represents a very small section of the Smārtas who sanctioned widow-burning. All the ancient authorities unanimously prescribed the verse as a mantra for removing the wife from the funeral pyre wherein she lies by the side of her dead husband, strictly in accordance with the direction found in the first line of the same. Āśvalāyana employs it as a mantra with which the younger brother of the deceased husband (or some such person), a disciple or an old servant should raise the widow from the funeral pyre.²¹ Nārāyaṇa²² and Haradatta²³ commenting

21 IV, 2, 15 (Trivandrum edition), Trivandrum Sanskrit series, No. 78, 1923.

तासुन्थापयेद् देवरः पतिथियोऽन्तेवासी जरहासो वा नार्यमि जीवलोकमिति
The old servant or the disciple is not entitled to utter some mantras or do all the rites; see commentaries on iv, 2, 17-18.

22 Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra, ed. by J. Mukundaji, second ed., Bombay, 1909.

23 Trivandrum edition, p. 178. Haradatta, however, refers to the opinion of a school according to which the brother-in-law

upon the sūtra of Āśvalāyana say that the younger brother of her husband only is entitled to be her second husband. According to Baudhāyana,²⁴ Āpastamba²⁵ and Hiranya-keśin²⁶ a Patistha (one who is entitled to marry her, i.e., the younger brother of her husband or Patihita or a kinsman of her husband) should utter this mantra while raising up the widow by her left hand. This Patistha or Patihita is recommended to raise her up so that she may be his wife if she intends to remarry or be maintained by him if she decides to have recourse to Niyoga. Thus none but Āśvalāyana refers to an old servant or a disciple as a fit person for raising the widow up from the funeral pyre. This old servant or disciple is really a substitute for the Devara who may be absent for some reason or other. So the Devara or the husband's younger brother is the fittest person to remarry the widow.

This is further supported by the etymological meaning of the word "Devara" (Dvītiyaḥ varah)²⁷ (husband's youn-

who is like a husband (पतिश्रीयः पतिस्थानीयः) should only maintain her and do similar duties.

24 Pitṛmedha-sūtra, VIII, 2; Mysore University ed., p. 386.

25 ZDMG., X, No. 3, p. 38.

26 *Op. cit.*

27 Yāska gives this interpretation; see also Govindasvāmin on the Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra, 2, 2, 9; cf. also RV, X, 40, 2b—a widow draws her husband's brother in bed.

ger brother) and certainly he was the most eligible second husband of his elder brother's widow. Kautilya points out that she may, no doubt, remarry but if she does not marry the person selected by her father-in-law, she will forfeit the right of possessing any longer the dowry received during her former marriage or other gifts from the father-in-law or husband.²⁸ The Mahābhārata also expressly states that ²⁹ a woman marries her brother-in-law after the death of her husband. In later times Samudragupta's son Candragupta II is said to have married his elder brother Rāmagupta's widow Dhruvadevī.^{29a} Thus it is evident that this custom of remarrying the husband's younger brother continued for a long time even after the Vedic period.

Though remarriage with the husband's younger brother was preferred, it was by no means compulsory. The passages referring to widow-marriage in the Atharva-veda, etc., do not refer to it at all; as a matter of fact, it not only does not question the validity of the eleventh

²⁸ Artha-śāstra, III, 2.

²⁹ 12, 19: नारी तु पत्यभावे वै देवरं वृणुते पतिम् । See also शान्तिपर्व, 72, 12; अनुशासनपर्व, 8, 22.

^{29a} Malaviya Commemoration Volume, Early Gupta History, p. 203.

marriage of a woman,³⁰ but also assures in indubious language that by performing the Aja pañcodana rite (offering a goat with five rice-dishes), a remarried woman and her second husband may ensure for themselves a lifelong union.³¹ In the following stanza, the husband of the remarried wife is assured that he will be able to live with his wife in the same world even after death and the next stanza assures both the husband and the remarried wife that they may go even to the highest heaven.³² The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (III. 22) stating that one wife cannot have many husbands together, indicates that she cannot have more than one husband at the same time, implying thereby that she can remarry when her husband is dead.³³ This also has no direct

30 V. 17, 8f; if a woman marries a Brāhmaṇa for her eleventh husband etc.

31 AV, ix, 3. 27.

या पूर्वं पतिं वित्त्वाऽथान्यं विन्दते परम् ।
पञ्चौदनं च तावज्जं ददातो न वि योषतः ॥

32 AV. ix. 3. 28-29.

समानलोको भवति पनर्भुवा पुरः पतिः ।
योऽजं पञ्चौदनं दक्षिणाज्योतिषं ददाति ॥
अनुपूर्ववत्सां धेनुमनङ्गाहमुपवर्हणम् ।
वासो हिरण्यं दत्त्वा ते यन्ति दिवमुत्तमाम् ॥

33 तस्मात् नैकस्यै बहवः सहपतयः ।

See also Mitra Miśra in his *Vira-mitrodaya*, Adhivedana-prakarāṇa

reference to the husband's younger brother. The words *Didhiṣu*, *Didhiṣupati*,³⁴ *Parapūrvā*, *Paunarbhava*, etc. do not necessarily refer to the younger brother of the dead husband, though they undoubtedly show the prevalence of widow-marriage in ancient India. There are many instances in the *Mahābhārata* where widows are found married³⁵ or widows are sought for as wives.³⁶ *Baudhā-*

—सहशब्दसामर्थ्यात् क्रमेण पत्यन्तरीभवतीति गम्यते ; *Nilakaṇṭha* in his *Bhāratabhāva-dīpa* on *Mahābhārata* (i, 195. 29) remarks:—सह इति युगपद् बहुपतित्वनिषेधो विहितो न तु समयमेदेन । Cf. *Tait. Samh.* VI. 6. 4. 3. यदेकस्मिन् यूपे द्वे रशने परिव्ययति...द्वे पती विन्देत ; here too a woman is forbidden to have more than one husband at the same time.

34 *Kāthaka-saṃhitā*, XXXI, 7; *Kapiṣṭhala-saṃhitā* XLVII, 7; also found in *Dharma-sūtras*. See also *Manu* III, 173. *Manu* seems to apply the term to the brother-in-law who is married to his sister-in-law after his brother's death for the purpose of begetting a child, if he displays conjugal affection to her (Cf. *Leist, Altavisches Jus Gentium*, 106).

35 E.g., *Arjuna* had a son by the widowed daughter of *Airāvata*, the *Nāga* king.

36 *Ugrāyudha* seeks for the hands of *Satyavatī*, widow of *Śantanu* (*Hari-vamśa* XX) etc.

yana,³⁷ Vāsiṣṭha,³⁸ Parāśara,³⁹ Manu,⁴⁰ etc., also recognize widow-marriage not necessarily with the brother-in-law but with outsiders as well.

The Buddhist literature, too, furnishes a large number of instances of widow-marriages.⁴¹

Even in subsequent periods many widows are found married and their issues become powerful kings too; e.g., Kings Candrāpīḍa, Tārāpīḍa who successively ruled Kashmir in the 8th century A. D.⁴² and King Viradhavala of Dholka.⁴³ Even Vastupāla of outstanding fame, and exponent of the Jaina religion in later ages, was the son of a twice-married woman by her second husband.⁴⁴

37 Dharma-sūtra, IV, 1, 16.

38 XVII. 39-20; 72-74.

39 IV, 30;

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीवे च पतिते पतौ ।

पञ्चस्वापत्तु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

Also found in Garuḍa-purāṇa, 107, 28 and Agni-purāṇa, 154. 5 and Narada-smṛti.

40 IX, 175.

41 E.g., Asatarupa Jataka; King of Kośala makes the widowed Queen of Kāśī his chief Queen.

42 Rāja-taraṅgiṇī, IV, 35-42. They were the sons of King Durlabhaka by the wife of a rich merchant subsequently married by him.

43 See Merutuṅga's Prabandha-cintāmaṇi.

44 *Op. cit.*

Hammīra of Chitor married the widowed daughter of Maldeo; their son Kṣetrasimha experienced no difficulties in becoming the ruler of Udaipur.⁴⁵

The great philanthropist Paṇḍita Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara, while attempting to legalise widow-marriage in Hindu Society in 1856 based his evidence upon a few Smṛti works and the Mahābhārata, but the evidences adduced above clearly show that the widow-marriage is supported not only by the Smṛtis but also by the Vedic literature. A widow is allowed to marry as many times as she likes, either the younger brother of her husband or somebody else.

Regarding the legal position of the son of a widow, Gautama⁴⁶ allows one-fourth share of his father's property to the son of a widow by her second husband. Vāśiṣṭha⁴⁷ and Viṣṇu⁴⁸ declare the son of a married widow fourth in the list of inheritors in order of preference and better than an adopted son. Manu⁴⁹ says that a Paunarbhava, son of a remarried widow, is to be regarded as a Brahman living by trade. This discrimination between the sons of the first husband and those of the subsequent

45 Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajsthan. For the family tree of Hammīra see Sanskrit Poets by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Appendix.

46 Smṛti, XXIX, 8.

47 Dharma-śāstra, XVII, 18.

48 Smṛti, XV, 7.

49 III, 181.

ones seems to be a later development. However, the Vedic literature is silent about it.⁵⁰

Thus we have shown above that widow-marriage was neither prohibited nor highly recommended in Ancient India.⁵¹ The ideal was a life of celibacy after the demise of the partner in life, failing which a widow might either take recourse to Niyoga or remarriage.

50 From the Mahābhārata it appears that widow-marriage began to fall into disrepute in its time though it was even then, probably, widely in vogue. In the Ādi-Parvan (104), Dirghatamas is said to have decreed that a woman must not marry a second time.

51 Cf. Vātsyāyana's Kāma-sūtra, 1.5.3.

CHAPTER III

Widow-burning in Ancient India

When in course of time the Indian society did not approve the rites of Niyoga ^{and} Widow-marriage,* widows became victims of a cruel intrigue against them, viz., the Suttee or widow-burning. The right of Sahamarāṇa or dying with the husband on the same funeral pyre is certainly not Vedic.¹

Colebroke in 1795 stated that the R̥g-vedic verse, X. 18. 7 is "the only Vedic authority for the rite of Satī".² But this view is not tenable for two reasons. Firstly, the reading that he accepts cannot be traced. He somewhat followed Raghunandana's reading as is found in the Serampore edition of his works. Then Raghunandana enjoined widow-burning (Sahamarāṇa or Anumarāṇa)

* For these, see Modern Review, November, 1941, pp. 472-473 and January, 1942 pp. 68-71.

1 Some later Smṛtikāras recognise also the Anumarāṇa, i.e. the death of a widow after some time as prescribed, though not on the same pyre, in the fire lighted up with the fire preserved from the funeral pyre of the husband. Pregnant widows in an impure state cannot immolate themselves.

2 Miscellaneous Essays. Modern, 1872, I, 114ff.

on the basis of a wholly wrong Vedic text which runs as follows:—

इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराज्जनेन सर्पिषाऽभिसंविशन्तु ।

अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्नाः प्रविशन्तु जनयो योनिमग्ने ॥

Colebrooke probably got the reading from some Bengali pandita of his own time who knew evidently Raghunandana's reading of the last few words as given here.³ As the reading followed by Colebrooke cannot be traced anywhere, it is to be rejected altogether. The right reading is:—प्रविशन्तु जनयो योनिमग्ने ॥⁴

The translations of the verse by Wilson⁵ and Max Müller⁶ is not satisfactory. The Verse should be translated as follows :—

“Let these women, not widowed, having good husbands, dress their eyes with butter serving as eye-salve; without tears, without disease, well-ornamented, let these wives enter the house first.”

3 Candéśvara about 1400 A.D., quoted the verse as the authority for widow-burning. Candéśvara cites a corresponding verse from the Brahma-purāṇa as well. So about 1400 A.D. this verse of some Khila Sūkta not now-a-days known beginning as such appears to have passed as an authority for widow-burning.

4 Prof. Wilson's reading, *JRAS.*, vol. XVI, p. 205, सुरत्ना रोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्ने । Dr. Max Müller accepts this regarding, only, correcting Suratnā-rohantu as Suratnā ārohantu.

5 Asiatic Researches, IV, p. 213.

6 Max Müller (Essays, Leipzig, 1869, II, p. 31f) who once

In any case, it cannot have any reference to widow-burning whatsoever.

Secondly, Colebrooke takes it for granted that it is an appropriate mantra uttered during the funeral ceremony. But it is quite otherwise. The ancient authorities on Vedic rites such as Āśvalāyana,⁷ the Brhad-devatā,⁸ the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka,⁹ Baudhāyana¹⁰ and Bharadvāja,¹¹

thought the verse to be "eine Ansprache an die übrigen Frauen, die dem Leichenbegangnis beiwohnen und ol und Butter auf Holzstoss zu giessen haben" translated it as:

"Lasst diese Frauen, die keine Witwen sind, sonder gute Männer haben, sich mit ol und Butter nahern. Die welche Mutter sind lasst zuerst zum Altar hinauf schreiten ohne Tränen, ohne Kummer, sonder geschmückt mit schonen Edelgestein" again translated it as follows in ZDMG., Band IX, p. XXV.:—"Es treten ein die Frauen mit ol und Butter, nicht Witwen sie, nein, stolzauf edle Männer. Die Mutter gehn zuerst hinauf zur statte, in schonen schmuck and ohne Leid und Tränen."

7. Gṛhya-sūtra, IV, 6, 8, The commentators Gārgya Nārāyaṇa and Hardatta Ācārya differ as to the manner of salving the eyes. However, the women are to salve their eyes with bundles of Kuśa stalks and then throw them to their back and then the chief mourners look at them with this verse.

8 VII. 12.

9 VI, 10, 2.

10 Pitr-medha-sūtra, ed. in ZDMG, X, No. 3, pp. 28, 1. 21, 11.

11 Pitr-medha-sūtra ed. in ZDMG, *op. cit.*, pp. 44.1.22.

prescribed it as a mantra to be used during the *Śānti-karman* which is performed on the tenth day after death. When the relatives of the deceased assemble in the burning ground for the *Śānti-karman* i. e., the rite for the well-being of the living, a fire is lighted up and all sit down on a bullock-hide.

The chief mourner then offers four oblations to the fire with a spoon made of *varuṇa* wood. All the relatives then rise up and recite a mantra. The women are then requested to put on collyrium and the chief mourner looks at them while uttering this verse,

In the *Atharva-veda* too, the verse appears twice (XII.2.2. XVIII.3.57). AV. XII.2,3 appears among verses meant for *Śānti*, i. e. the appeasing of *Agni Kravyāt* and for the consecration of the new house-fire. According to the *Kauśika-sūtra* 72. 11, the verse is used for the preparation of the new domestic fire wherein the women are presented with grass-shoots dipped in butter. Thus it is the same rite as *Śānti Karman*. A.V. XVIII. 3. 57 is used in connection with ancestral rites. The *Kauśika* does not mention its specific ritualistic application. Following the other schools, the verse is to be taken as a mantra of the *Śānti* rite.¹²

12 It is interesting that the *Paippalāda* recension adds another corresponding verse for the use of men.

As the various Vedic schools mentioned above to which more may be added, all prescribe the verse as an appropriate mantra for the Śānti-karmān which is performed ten days after the funeral ceremony, Colebrooke's contention that this verse applies to the funeral ceremony is thus utterly baseless,

Rājā Rādhākānta unhesitatingly declares that the Rg-vedic verse X. 18. 8 refers to the Suttē.¹³ He says when a Sati lies on the pyre, she intimates her resolution to immolate herself. She is then requested with this verse to come back to the world of the living, but she shows her valour by refusing the requests of her kinsmen. Rādhākānta cites in his support the fact that even at the latest phase of the Sati, the widow is requested by her friends and relatives to live.¹⁴ If even then she remains firm in her determination, she is burnt to death. But this view is not tenable.

The first half of the Rg-vedic verse, X. 18. 8 represents, probably, a relic of widow-burning that was known in the Indo-European period;¹⁵ but nevertheless it shows that widow-

¹³ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVII, 1860, p. 215 f.

¹⁴ Compare the identical fact in the last act of the Mṛcchakatika where the relatives of Cārudatta endeavour to dissuade his wife from her resolution to immolate herself.

¹⁵ Schrader, Pre-historic Antiquities, pp. 390-391; Reallexicon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde, p. 958. For the custom

burning was at the period of the composition of this Rg-verse forbidden. A similar relic is also traced in the Atharva-veda (18.3.3)¹⁶ which refers to some rescue of a young wife from self-immolation. In fact, this symbolical burning is self-evident from the ritualistic application of the verse itself. Thus, Baudhāyana says that the wife should lie down on the left side of the corpse. Āśvalāyana recommends that she should be placed near the head of the corpse on the north side. But it must be a matter of ritualistic observance pure and simple as irrespective of the RV.X.18.8 we see that in a subsequent mantra¹⁷ the widow of a Brāhmaṇa is asked to carry in her hand a bit of gold, the widow of a Kṣatriya the bow and the wife of a Vaiśya the jewel which is offered along with the corpse of a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya respectively.¹⁸

of burning widows among the Northern Indo-Europeans, see V. Nehr's *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, 7th Aufl., published by O. Schrader, p. 473 f; for other peoples see p. 533 ff. For the custom prevailing among the ancient Germans, see K. Mullenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1900, IV, p. 312 f. The custom of widow-burning is found also among the primitive peoples; cf. Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib in der Natur und Volkerkunde*, 9, Aufl., II, p. 672 ff.

16 Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 8, p. 849.

17 Taittirīya Āraṇyaka VI, 1.

18 The opinion of one of the scholiasts of Āśvalāyana (IV, 2, 17-18) slightly varies here.

The Atharva-veda¹⁹ clearly shows that the wife comes back to a life of prosperity and bliss with children. The Rig-vidhāna says²⁰ a brother-in-law (Devara) should dissuade his sister-in-law from ascending the funeral pyre of the dead husband. The A-recension of the Brhad-devatā shows that this is the verse uttering which the younger brother of the husband dissuades the widow lying on the funeral pyre by the side of the deceased husband from burning herself to death.²¹

Thus it is clear that all the Sūtra Texts and other Vedic works prescribe that the wife should lie down by the side of her husband and she is to be raised up and is to return to the world of the living.²² This verse can therefore by no means refer to Widow-burning.

Again, the silence of the entire Sūtra Literature, Buddhist Literature, Megasthenes, Kautilya and early

19 XVIII, 2, 1.

20 III, 8, 4.

21 VII, 13-15. The B-recension, however, seems to have been tampered with; or probably, it simply notices a later development; it says that the widow-burning is optional in the case of other castes than the Brāhmaṇa. The burning of Brāhmaṇa widows is, however, a heinous crime.

22 Only the later popular works such as the Paddhatis and Prayogas mention that "the raising up of the wife" (Utthāpana) is applicable to those cases only where the wives are not willing to immolate themselves.

Smārtas such as Manu and Yājñavalkya confirm that this abominable custom was not in vogue in India even in their times.

There is ample proof to show that even in later times when widow-burning became a religious practice in some parts of the country, well-known Smārtas as well as literary giants denounced it as strongly as possible. Thus, Medhātithi in his commentary on Manu vehemently protests against the custom and considers it wholly opposed to the Vedas.²³ Virāt as quoted by Aparārka on Yājñavalkya 1-87²⁴ also holds the same view emphasising that the Suttee is simply committing suicide for nothing; it means totally ignoring wifely duties for which a Suttee is liable to religious penalties. Bāṇabhaṭṭa opposed the custom tooth and nail.²⁵

It is thus proved conclusively that widow-burning is not Vedic. It is not Tantrika either.

The Tantras hold a very important position from the point of religious practice in particular. They as a rule denounce the Suttee or Saha-maraṇa rite. Thus the Mahānirvāṇa-tantra²⁶ declares the Suttee a criminal; by following the husband on the funeral pyre, she herself paves her way to hell.

23 V. 157.

24 Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series ed. Poona, 1903-1904, vol. 1.

25 Kādambarī, pūrvārdha, Kale's edition, pp. 264-265.

26 X. 80.

Thus the rite of Saha-marāṇa is neither Vedic nor Tantric. It is at best Paurāṇic.

In the Mahābhārata, there is a single solid instance of widow-burning,²⁷ viz., that of Mādrī. But it is clear that her self-immolation was not at all prompted by religious considerations, for paving the way of the husband and his ancestors to heaven but on personal considerations pure and simple.²⁸ All the sages present tried to dissuade her from this ignoble act. Again in the original portion of the Rāmāyaṇa viz. Books II-IV, there is no reference to the Suttee rite. The instance of Vedavati's mother in the Uttara-kāṇḍa (17.14) refers to a much later date. The burning of the widow as a religious rite did not develop certainly in the epic age about 5th century B.C.

Presumably this rite came in to existence about the beginning of the Christian era or soon after. In the fourth century A.D. in Kālidāsa's Kumāra-saṃbhava (Canto IV) Rati is depicted as ready to follow Madana on the funeral pyre. The incident in the last act of Sūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭika also represents this age. Subsequently a few centuries later this abominable custom is shown as receiving the support of some law-givers such as Aṅgiras,²⁹

27 cf. also Mahābhārata, I, 174, 44 f.; XI, 26, 28 ff; XVI, 7, 18, 24, 73 f.

28 MBH, I, 138, 71-72.

29 Quoted by Aparārka on Yājñavalkya, I, 87.

Vṛddhahārīta,³⁰ etc.³¹ By the fourteenth century A. D. attempts seem to have been made even to adulterate the ancient texts such as the Mahābhārata and the Parāśara-smṛti. The verses "Avamatya tu yāḥ". and "Bhartrānu-maraṇa-kāle" etc., attributed by Mādhava in his Parāśara-Mādhaviya on Parāśara-smṛti³² are not traceable in the Mahābhārata. Verses IV, 31-32 of the Parāśara-smṛti which advocate widow-burning somewhat contradict the last but one verse (IV-29).

Raghunandana managed to find out even Vedic sanction for this custom as we have shown before. Instances of Suttee of this and subsequent times may be heaped up from various sources.³³

It seems that for some reason or other widow-burning was resorted to by Kṣatriya-women, particularly for getting rid of the oppression of the invaders.

30 Verse 201.

31 Bṛhaspati, 24, 11; Vyāsa-smṛti, II. 52; Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya, I, 86.

32 IV, 32,

33 Caṇḍeśvara's Vivāda-ratnākara, Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 440-445; Daśakumāra-carita, IV; Bāṇa's Harṣa-carita, at the death of Prabhākara Vardhana; and other references Kathā-sarit-sāgara, 9; Kalhaṇa's Rāja-taraṅgiṇī, many instances. For an account of the latest phase of the Suttee, the travelling accounts of Foreigners in India are instructive and interesting, though at times exaggerated.

It is significant in connection with the spread of this custom that some invaders such as the Hūṇas and the Scythians considered widow-burning as religious. Scythian rule in Northern India must have helped the spread of the Satī rite there. The example of the rulers in particular is bound to be followed at times by the people at large. The other reason seems to be that some widows, at the moment of their deepest grief, could not think they would be able to live without their husbands and had recourse to self-immolation. Their example, considered as noble, was also sometimes followed. By and by the Saha-marāṇa rite gained popularity and public approbation and subsequently, religious sanction in some parts of the country.

Thus neither the Vedas nor the Tantras sanction the Saha-marāṇa rite. The ceremonial procedure of the rite has, however, been detailed in the Purāṇas such as the Padma-purāṇa.³⁴ As such, the Saha-marāṇa may be called only Pauranic.

CHAPTER IV

The Widow In The Vedic Ritual.*

Miscellaneous rites

As the Sahamarāṇa rite is not at all Vedic, it cannot affect the position of the widow from the point of view of Vedic ritual. But it is of interest to note that even in later times widow-burning is sanctioned as an alternative course to be followed by those who are afraid of widowhood. Preference is always given to Brahmācārya¹. Manu is absolutely silent about widow-burning and recommends Brahmācārya as the highest duty of widow². Viṣṇu, mentioning the Brahmācārya before Anvārohaṇa, shows that he prefers the former to the later³. The Agni-purāṇa also upholds the same view⁴. Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa in the Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa of his Smṛti-candrikā specifically points out that a

* Prabuddha Bharata, Feb. 1942, pp. 79-81.

1 Cf. the Mantras she utters : वैधव्यभयपीडिता, etc.

2 V. 157 H.

कामं तु क्षपयेद्देहं फलमूलजलैः शुभैः ।

न तु नामापि गृहीयात् पत्यौ प्रेते परस्य तु ॥ V. 150

मृते भर्तरि साध्वी स्त्री ब्रह्मचर्यं व्यवस्थिता ।

स्वर्गं गच्छत्यपुत्राऽपि यथा ते ब्रह्मचारिणः ॥ V. 160

3 XXV. 14.

4 221. 23.

life of celibacy is certainly preferable⁵. The religious injunction that Brahmin widows should not immolate themselves shows that widow-burning is not commendable except under special circumstances⁶. Leading a celibate life is thus the highest Dharma for the widower as well as the widow. Just as the wife is considered Vidhavā after her husband's death, the widower is also considered Vidhava⁷ (really, without a wife) after the death of his wife if he has no sons of

5 तद्धर्मान्तरमपि ब्रह्मचर्यधर्माज्जघन्यं निकृष्टफलत्वात् ॥

6 The B-recension of the Brhad-devatā, ed. by Macdonell, VII, 15: वर्णानामितरेषां च स्त्रीधर्मोऽयं भवेन्न वा । Padma-purāṇa, Brṣṭi-khaṇḍa, XLIX. 72-73.

न म्रियेत समं भर्ता ब्राह्मणी ब्रह्मशासनात् ।

प्रव्रज्यागतिमाप्नोति मरणादात्मधातिनी ॥

नरोत्तम उवाच—सर्वासामेव जातीनां ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ।

पुण्यं च द्विजमुख्येन अत्र किं वा विपर्ययः ॥ भगवान् उवाच—

ब्राह्मण्याः साहसं कर्म नैव कार्यं कदाचन ।

निःशेषेऽस्या वधं कृत्वा स नरो ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥

Hārta, Gautama, Angiras, and Vyāsa recommended Sahamaraṇa for all widows except Brāhmaṇis. In much later times, however, the rule became somewhat relaxed; see Aparārka on Yājñavalkya, I. 87; Mādhava on Parāśara, IV. 31; etc.

7 For the etymological interpretation of धव see Yāska, III. 15—विधवनाद्वा । विधवनाद्वेति चर्मशिराः । अपि वा धव इति मनुष्यनाम तद्वियोगाद्विधवा । As धव means मनुष्य, both man and woman, the husband is विधव when he loses his wife.

excellent behaviour, versed in the Śruti, etc.⁸ The lot of a widower is as unfortunate as that of widow; it is the losing of the equal half of life that renders either of them equally unfit for religious observances unless otherwise authorised. Just like a widow, a widower, too, is debarred from all religious affairs.⁹ A widower is not entitled to be entertained in the Śrāddha ceremony, just as the widow is not entitled to cook food for ancestors during the Śrāddha.¹⁰

In the Vedic ritual the rights of the widower and the widow are perfectly counterbalanced. The surviving half performs the funeral and Śrāddha ceremonies for the departed half, provided the two have no children.¹¹ In case of

8 *Smṛtīnām Samuccayah*, Ānandaśarma Series, p. 93, verse 78—

यस्य पुत्राः सदाचाराः श्रुतिज्ञा धर्मसंमुखाः ।

पितृभक्तिरता दान्ता न वैधव्यं मृतस्त्रियि ॥

9 *Op. cit.*, verse. 77, अप्रजो मृतपत्नीकः सर्वकर्मसु गर्हितः ।

Widows are not allowed to participate in sacrificial matters, specially in wedding ceremonies (*Sāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra*, 11, 5; 1. 12. 1.) Old Brāhmin women, however, have some access as they are taken into consultation (*ibid.*, 1.14.8) in cases of doubt about rituals.

10 *Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra*, p. 437 of the Bombay edition, 1.8.9; *R̥ṣyaśṛṅga* and *Jābāla* quoted in the *Śrāddha-sūtra-kaṇḍikā*, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

11 *Śrāddha-sūtra-kaṇḍikā*, *Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra*, Bombay edition, p. 462. I. 18, *Smṛti-candrikā*, *Śrāddha-kāṇḍa*, p. 9 रेचं

their death without any issue, only the Ekoddiṣṭa Śrāddha is performed for either of them.¹² Even though they have children, either of them is to offer water-libation to the departed one.¹³ Either survivor (he or she) performs the ancestral rites to appease the ancestors. The rights of the widow are by no means curtailed as she can offer Śrāddha to both sides, her husband's as well as her parents',¹⁴ just as the widower does; the manes (Pitṛs) too, are six in number as usual in Śrāddhas unless the Śrāddha is an Ekoddiṣṭa one. She also performs four Pārvaṇa Śrāddhas in the sacred places or on the Mahālayā, etc.; and herein,

etc. Śrāddha-mayūkha, p. 20; also p. 24, अपुत्रा पुत्रवत् पत्नी पुत्रकार्यं समाचरेत् etc; Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī, p. 456, 17. f; also p. 459. 1.18 f. भार्या and particularly. l. 30 f, Śrāddha-viveka, ऊर्ध्वास्तु, etc. भार्यापिरङ् पतिः कुर्याद्भर्तुं भार्या तथैव च etc.; also p. 462, 1. 17 and p. 464. 1. 8. Śrāddha-mañjarī, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, vol. LIX Poona 1909, p. 110, पत्नीश्राद्धे तु etc. Karma-kāṇḍa-pradīpa, Bombay 1921, p. 425, सर्वबन्धुविहीनस्य, etc. etc.

12 Śrāddha-mayūkha, Collection of Hindu Law Books, vol. XVIII, p. 25, सपिराडीकरणादूर्ध्वं, etc. Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī, p. 462, इति मार्कण्डेयपुराणे अपुत्रपुत्रवदपुत्रे स्त्रीणां, etc.

13 Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī, p. 456, I. 14. cf. Śrāddha-mañjarī, Poona 1909, p. 117, अपुत्रस्य विधवा पत्नी, etc.

14 Śrāddha-mañjarī, p. 115, स्वभर्तृप्रभृतितृप्तिभ्यः, etc. etc.

too, she worships the ancestors of both sides.¹⁵ Just as in the case of the widower, all the male ancestors are worshipped along with their departed wives, if any of the ancestors has one half still surviving, she does not reckon the other half as a man but worships the immediately preceding three as manes along with their deceased wives. The ritualistic procedure or Prayoga that she follows is exactly the same as that of the widower.¹⁶ She is not debarred even from performing the Vṛddhi Śrāddha¹⁷ which very few persons are entitled to perform. Thus while performing a Śrāddha, she uses an upper garment as the third sacred thread hanging over her right shoulder, and she herself performs all rites pertaining to the Sāmvatsarika or other Śrāddhas.¹⁸ In an Ekoddiṣṭa Śrāddha, she performs all the rites up to the Saṃkalpa and may then permit a

15 *Op. cit.*, p. 115, चत्वारि पार्वणानि, etc.,

16 Cf. the 'Prayoga' as has been given in full in the Śrāddha-manjari p. 115, f.

17 Śrāddha-manjari, *op. cit.*, यदि विधवा, etc. Cf. वाजपेय-याज्ञि-पद्धति as quoted therein.

18 For this and the following details, see *op. cit.*, p. 117;

स्वभर्तृप्रभृतिभिः स्वपितृभ्यस्तथैव च ।

विधवा कारयेच्छ्राद्धं यथाकालमतन्द्रिता ॥

Smṛti-samuccaya; also quoted in the Śrāddha-manjari, p. 115.

priest to complete the rest on her behalf.¹⁹ Of course she may herself perform the whole ceremony if she likes. If she permits a Brahmin to perform it, she alternately puts on the sacred thread on her left or right shoulder just as the priest does²⁰. In the ritual literature nowhere is there any suggestion to debar her from performing any rite that a widower may perform.

During the lifetime of the husband, the wife is not required to fast nor is she entitled to observe any rite in her own exclusive right, just as the husband also cannot do so in his own. But after the death of either of them they perform several rites as mentioned above, apparently separately, but really the rites are performed for the acquirement of religious merit by them both, and neither of them is entitled in this lifetime or after the death of either to perform any rite for individual good. In her lifetime as well as after her death the wife is the only religious partner of the husband. The widower cannot disgrace his deceased wife in any way; on the other hand, her memory is to be cherished throughout the rest of his life in all religious matters.

The above principle is also upheld by the Purāṇas.

19 कंचिद् ब्राह्मणमृत्विक्त्वेन परिकल्प्य तं ब्रूयात् समाज्ञया त्वमिद-
ममुक्तश्राद्धाख्यं कर्म कुर्विति ।

20 Śrāddha mañjarī, p. 113.

according to which, after the death of either the husband or the wife, he or she should, apart from observing the rites mentioned above, also observe the Trirātri-vrata, the vows for gifts, sacred bath, etc., the Ekādaśī-vrata, Dvādaśī-vrata as well as the Trayodaśī-vrata²¹ for their common good.

Such stringent rules as are found in the Śuddhi-tattva of Raghunandana, Yama-saṃhitā (ii.53) etc. are only later growths not at all warranted by the Vedic custom. These rigidities were not known in the Vedic days, when women were shown every possible consideration in social as well as religious matters. Regarding tonsure, it may be noted, that it must have evolved at a very late period. The Mahābhārata (XV.27.16), the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa (83.101), etc. do not advise the widows to shave off their heads; in the former, widows are found arranging their hair, whereas in the latter they are simply advised not to dress it. The Śambhu-saṃhitā, Hayagrīva-saṃhitā, and Manu-saṃhitā²² (not the Mānavadharmā-śāstra) are strongly opposed to the observance of this rite. Vedavyāsa (1.53). Mādhavācārya, Anantadeva, etc., who support this, are all later authors whose opinions do not count against the Vedic authority.

21 Skanda-pūrāṇa, Kāśī-khaṇḍa (Vaṅgavāsī ed.). p. 2072 ff.

22 Indian Antiquary, vol. III, pp. 136-137.

Thus it is shown that from the ritual point of view both the widower and the widow are, no doubt, under certain obligations, but none is more handicapped than the other from the social and religious points of view. Failing in cherishing the memory of the other half for the rest of life, either may remarry; but such marriage is of no religious importance whatsoever. The rites performed by or for them are just the same as in the Vedic ritualistic literature; there is no connivance at or partiality for either party.

CHAPTER V

The Mother

The Vedic Ritual shows that the Mother and the Father are one and the same in Life as well as after death, but so far as the children are concerned, they are to respect their Mother a thousand times more than they do their father.

If the Mother really becomes One with her husband by means of the Marriage and Cathurthīhoma Mantras,¹ how can it be proper that her Sapīṇḍikaraṇa should be performed with the mention of her father's Gotra and not her husband's?

Āpastamba² says the young of the Cuckoos, depending upon others for livelihood, return to their parents after perfect development; so do women after their death. At the end of a year the son should perform the Sapīṇḍana for the mother with the Maternal grand father as the mane just as he should perform for the father with the paternal grand father says Uśanas.³ The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa⁴ says the

1 Commentary on *Gobb. GS.*, p. 355, I. 10-14.

2 Hemādri, *Parīśeṣakhaṇḍa*, p. 1654.

3 This verse occurs in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* and has also been quoted by Kṛṣṇamīśra in the *Śrāddhākāśikā*, *Par. GS.*, Bom. ed. p. 499, I. 14 and also by Śūlapāṇi in the *Śrāddhāvivekasaṃgraha*, p. 265. I. 12.

4 Hemādri, *op. cit.*

offerings should be given to the mother with the mention of her father's gotra, not her husband's; in birth as well as in danger women resort to their fathers.

The opinion of these Authorities is, however, clearly opposed to that of equally outstanding Authorities. According to Yama,¹ the Sapīḍana of the mother should be performed with the mention of her husband's Gotra and name. Hārīta² says the woman loses her father's Gotra in the seventh step during her marriage; (so) the offerings of cakes and water to her should be made with the mention of her Husband's gotra. Bṛhaspati, as quoted by Hemādri in the Śrāddhakalpa,³ says the woman should be offered the cakes and water in her husband's Gotra.

The disputed nature of the question becomes still more manifest when the same Uśanas is found quoted by both the schools of thought. He is found on the side of the latter school when he says "Ekatvaṃ sã gatã bhartuḥ piṇḍe gotre ca sūtake. Tasmãd Uḍakapiṇḍau tu bhartṛgotreṇa nirvaper; She has been One with her husband in Piṇḍa, Gotra, Sūtake; therefore, the offering of cake and water should be made to her in the Gotra of her husband."

1 The comparisons that the Purāṇa gives in this connection are marvellous.

2 Hemādri, p. 1651.

3 P. 1651; also Śūlapāṇi in the Śrāddhahiveka, p. 256.

The Antyeṣṭyarka¹ says in connection with the Sapiṇḍanaprayoga "Mātuḥ sapiṇḍikaraṇam...*amukagotrābhiḥ* asmatpitāmahīprapitāmahīvṛddhaprapitāmahībhiḥ.....sapiṇḍikaraṇam kariṣye". Here, "Amukagotrābhiḥ: with all of the Gotra N. N." shows that the Mothers all belong to the same Gotra. Unless they all belong to the Bhartṛgotra, it cannot be expected that all the three Mothers would have the same Gotra, because all of them are not likely to belong to the same Pitṛgotra; as coming from different families, it is only likely that their Pitṛgotra would vary. Therefore, the Mothers have their Bhartṛgotra after death.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in his Antyeṣṭikriyāpaddhati² says in regard to the Sapiṇḍikaraṇa of the mother (the sacrificer is to make the Saṃkalpa like this): "I shall mix together the water of the vessel consecrated to the Preta of Gaṅgā of the Bhāradvājagotra with that of the Arghyapātras consecrated to Kṛṣṇadā, Venīdā and Narmadā³ (all) of the Bhāradvājagotra, the mother, grand-mother and great-grand-mother of the husband of the Preta respectively, who represent Vasu,

1 F. 56, 1.9. F. 57, 1. 1f; also F. 58b, 1.2.f.

2 F. 197a, 1.4 f.

3 "Dā" is always to be added as a suffix to the name of females whenever they are used in Rituals; *Man. GS.*, p. 83, 1. 11-14.

etc.”¹ Here, too, the Mother, who is a Preta now and all the three mothers-in-law are addressed as “of the Bhāradvāja Gotra.” Because of the reasons mentioned above, the Gotra used here cannot but be the Gotra of their husbands. So they cannot but belong to their husband’s Gotra.

The Maiden walking round the Fire in the Sākamedha Ritual expresses her ardent desire to be severed from her father’s family and Gotra and be permanent in the husband’s Gotra.²

The Smṛti³ says that by means of the Mantras uttered during the Caturthīhoma the wife unites with her husband-skin with skin, flesh with flesh, heart with heart, senses with senses: therefore, she belongs to his Gotra. Brhaspati⁴ lays

1 The mother of the husband represents Vasu; his grandmother the Rudra; his great-grand-mother the Āditya. Their husbands, too, represent the same deities. This also shows that the husband and the wife are One Soul and cannot have different Gotras after death.

2 See Mahidhara as quoted in part I, p. 10 of this Thesis.

3 Gobb. GS., Bib. Ind., p. 355. I. 10-11.

4 Hemādri, Śrāddhakalpa, p. 1651;

चतुर्थीहोममन्त्रैस्तु मांसमज्जास्थिभिः सह ।

एकत्वमागता भर्तुस्तस्मात्तद्गोवभागिनी ॥

पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्राः पितृगोत्रापहारकाः ।

भर्तुर्गोत्रेण नारीणां देयं पिण्डोदकन्ततः ॥

Sūlapāṇi, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

particular stress on the Marriage Mantras in this connection. And in fact the Marriage and Caturthīkarma Mantras are decisive in this matter. "Your heart is my heart and my heart is your heart"-these sanctifying and soul-stirring Mantras would be meaningless if the Sapinḍikaraṇa of the mother is performed with the mention of the father's Gotra.

So the use of the Mātāmahagotra during the Mātṛsapinḍana is rather an accident than a rule.

Baudhāyana and Yajñapārśva as quoted by Śūlapāṇi in his Śrāddhavivekasamgraha¹ recommend the use of the Mātāmahagotra if the Sapinḍikaraṇa is performed by the son of a Putrikā. He should invoke with the first cake (Piṇḍa) his mother, with the second his mother's father, with the third his mother's father's father. A daughter is made Putrikā for the benefit of the father; she is given in marriage on the express condition that the children she will produce will perform as his own children all the religious rites.

Vyāsa² says, no doubt in this marriage, too, (i.e. of a Putrikā) the wife becomes One with her husband after her marriage; but as soon as she produces a child, she ceases to be One with him.

1 P. 265, I. 15-16.

2 *Op. cit.*, Hemādri, p. 1656.

According to *Vṛddhaśātātapa*¹ the *Sapindīkaraṇa* of the mother married in accordance with one of the base forms of marriage (*āsurādi*)² should be offered in her father's gotra. The *Śrāddhamayūkha*³ cites the Authority of the *Mitākṣarā*, etc. in support of this view. *Hemādri* in the *Śrāddhakalpa*⁴ says that as in such a case the daughter is not offered to the bridegroom by the father of his own accord after the relinquishment of all his claims, she cannot be forcibly taken out of her father's family and Gotra. *Śātātapa* says, her *Sapindāna* should be offered with her mother, grandmother and great-grand-mother (on the father's side). The *Maṇanapārijāta*,⁵ too upholds this view. *Hemādri* is of opinion that the Family Tradition should, however, be followed, and if it is in accordance with the Family Tradition, the mother's *Sapindīkaraṇa* should be offered along with the utterance of the Gotra of Maternal grand-father. It will be seen in this connection that these Authorities mention this rather as a concession than as a recommendation, and as such, it is only a *Gauṇadharmā*.

The mother by all means retains her husband's Gotra and remains One with her husband after death, but deserves

¹ As quoted by *Śrāddhakāśikākāra*, *Pār. GS.*, Bom. ed. p. 505, 1.14.

² See *Introd.*, J. B. Chaudhuri's *Sambandha-viveka*.

³ P. 86, 1.

⁴ P. 1655, 1.

⁵ P. 275, 1.15.

⁶ *Śrāddhakalpa*, p. 1656, 1.

preferential treatment from her children for the pain she undergoes during the pregnancy and in rearing them, and most probably, for the incomparable love and affection she has for her children which the father seems to develop in course of association with the children. The Love of the mother towards children is spontaneous and natural, and is not based on any earthly selfish end. The Mother is the embodiment of all Blessings from Heaven; all Hope, Ambition, and Devotion on Earth; she is the Sum Total of all Religious Merit for the child, as it were.

From the beginning of her conception, the mother undergoes a series of saṃskāras for various purposes, but always with one object in common—the welfare of the child. In the prebirth saṃskāras the father no doubt joins, but as these are Strī-saṃskāras, his participation signifies nothing more than helping the mother in the proper performance and observance of these rites. His service is dispensable in as much as in his absence the brother-in-law or some body else may join in the performance in his stead; but someone must help her as she, during her pregnancy, is ritualistically impure and cannot be supposed to offer the oblations, etc.¹

¹ *Saṃs. RM.*, p. 813, i. 10f; *Drab GS.*, ii. 18; Kumārila, p. 291, i. 12-13; for the injunctions the mother has to follow during her pregnancy, see *op. cit.*, p. 815, i. 144ff.

In the fourth month¹ of her pregnancy² she has the rite for securing the safety of the embryo performed. Her limbs are besmeared with a salve of clarified butter along with the utterance of prayers³ for having all sorts of maladies removed from every part of her body. According to Āśvalāyana as quoted in the *Sam̐ May.*,⁴ she remains lying in the shadow of the Fire-shed and a kind of herb named Ajitā is put into her nostrils. Śaunaka⁵ mentions while she remains in the above-mentioned place, a girl (*kanyā*) should press some *dūrvā*-grass in the stones along with the sprinkling of water and get the juice out of it. The husband takes it, touches her, and murmurs the *Prajāvat*⁶ and *Jīva-putra*⁷ hymns. Having stood to the west of the wife he now pours into her right nostril the *Dūrvā* juice in such a way that it passes into her stomach. She then

1 Also not mentioned in the *Āgñiveśyasūtra*, Trivandrum, 40.

2 According to the *Vaijavāpaghya* as quoted in the *Sam̐skāra-mayūkha*, p. 20, and the *Sam̐ May.*, itself, this *Anavalobhana* may be performed together with the *Pumsāvāna* or soon after it.

3 According to the Sank. School; *RV.*, X, 863; cf. *Sams. RM.*, vol. II, p. 820, 1, 1f.

4 In the *GS.*, he simply refers to some *Upaniṣad*. Śaunaka mentions this rite has been mentioned in *Yajñopaniṣad*, F. 23.

5 *MS.* Buhler, 4785 (I.O.L.), F. 24.

6 *Āśv. GS.*, I, 13, 6; cf. *Āp. GS.*, III, 1, 13; *Hir. GS.*, I, 25, 1.

7 *Āśv. GS.*, I, 13, 6; cf. *Pār. GS.*, I, 5, II; *Hir. GS.*, I, 19, 7; *Āp. GS.*, II, 5, 2.

sips water and keeps on touching the husband while he offers the oblation. Then the husband touches her heart with his (right) palm and prays for long life and welfare.¹ According to Śaunaka, this rite should be repeated in each pregnancy.

She takes particular care that the embryo may develop² and not fall. If there is any miscarriage,³ the husband strokes her body from the navel upwards with wetted hand and prays for the long life of the mother as well as of the child.

In the third⁴ or fourth⁵ month of her pregnancy or even later⁶ she observes the Pūṃsavana rite.

1 Yat te susīme hṛdaye hitam, etc. This Mantra is also used during the Simantonnayana, cf. *Pār. GS.* I, II, 9.

2 *Saṃs. RM.*, p. 819, 1. 24ff.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 820, 1. 7ff: *Hir. GS.*, 2.2.7, also quoted in *op. cit.*

4 *Gobb. GS.*, 2, 1.6; *Khād. GS.*, 2.2.17; *Pār. GS.*, 2nd or 3rd month; *Vār. GS.*, XVI, 5, p. 45 of Vira's *ed.*; Kumārila: 4th month during the first pregnancy, 3rd month in others; *Jaim. GS.*, I, 5; 3rd month in the first pregnancy, 4th in others; *Bhār. GS.*, 1, 22 (p. 22) 3rd month or beginning of the 4th; *Saṃs. RM.*, vol. 2, p. 811 II, 3rd month; *Vaijāvāgrhya*, as quoted in the *Saṃskāramayūkha*, p. 20: 2nd or 3rd: *Jatukaranyā, op. cit.*, 2nd or 3rd. Śaunaka, F. 23, 2nd or 3rd.

5 *Vaik. GS.*, III, II.

6 *Kāth. GS.*, 32, 2, p. 134: Devapāla, 8th moth; Brahm., 7th or 8th; Āditya, 8th month, *Āp. GS.*, XIV, 9; *Baudh. GS.*,

The earliest reference to the rite is found in AV. Here in III. 23¹ a charm has been prescribed wherein an arrow should be broken over the mother's head for procuring the child as desired. According to VI, II,² a rite for Pūṁsavana, fire is generated between Śamī and Aśvattha and is variously applied to the pregnant woman. The AV. also prescribes a ritual³ to be offered with an oblation in the lap of a woman desirous of offspring; in other places⁴ a different ritual has been described.

According to the Vārāha school, she is wrapped up in an unwashed cloth, and the powder of the Nyagrodha shoot is poured into her right nostril. Then the husband touches her right abdomen with the prayer for the fulfilment of the object.

According to the Kāthaka school, Sthālīpāka oblations and Homas are offered thrice to Agni, Indra and Viṣṇu for having the child as desired.

I, 10, 1f (p. 29) when the pregnancy has become visible. cf. various authorities quoted in the Saṁskāramayūkha, and *Sams. RM., op. cit.* For the expiation to be made if the proper time expires, see *Drā. GS.*, II, 24; cf. Rudraskanda on *Drā. GS.*, II, 13.

1 Cf. Kaus. 35, 3.

2 Cf. Kaus., 35, 8.

3 VII, 17, cf. Kaus., 35, 16; VII, 19, cf. Kaus., 35, 17.

4 III, 23; VI, II, VII, 17; 19.

Vaikhānasa says she should sit, during the performance of the rite in the forenoon, to the west of the fire.¹ The husband gives her some barley-corns mixed with mustard-seed or their substitute, beans and grain-corns. Her belly is touched after which she partakes of the threefold food, a mixture of equal quantities of milk, sour curds and melted butter.

Bhāradvāja says a maiden should pound a Nyagrodha shoot in the mill-stones; this pounded shoot should be poured into her right nostril when she, to the west of the fire, keeps her head up towards the east. She reciprocates her husband's wish for having the child.

According to Hiranyakeśin the husband should give her a barley-grain in her right hand and two mustard seeds, or two beans on both sides of the grain and pour a drop of curd on them which she eats. The following ritual is the same as in Vaikhānasa. The Baudhāyana school prescribes quite a different ritual.² The husband first offers oblations with cooked food and then oblation with clarified butter

¹ The place she occupies and the position she takes have been variously mentioned. Place: *Āśv. GS.*, I, 13.5: in the shadow of a round apartment; *Gobh. GS.*, II, 6, 10; to the west of the fire; cf. *Āp. GS.*, 14, 11; *Drā. GS.*, II, 23. Position; *Hir. GS.*, II, 1, 2, 6: she keeps her head on the root of an udumbara tree; *Āp. GS.*, 14, 11: she lies on her back.

² I, 10, 1f; p. 29.

with prayers for children.¹ Then he anoints her face four times with the remnant of clarified butter along with the utterance of the prescribed hymns.² According to the School of Āśvalāyana as described by Kumārila³ and Śaunaka,⁴ she should, after her bath and wearing two washed clothes, adorn herself with garlands, etc., and also observe the rite Kautukabandha.⁵ The husband now begins to offer the oblation. After the Anuyāja, she sips water, sits with her face towards the east to the right side of the husband and keeps on touching him while he finishes oblation. Then she washes her (right) hand, stretches it and touches with it two beans and one barley mixed with curd. The husband asks her thrice what she is drinking, to which she replies thrice "Giving birth to the child (as desired)". She now drinks the curd together with grain-corns and the barley and sips water; she twice drinks the curd. She again carefully washes her mouth.⁶

According to Gobhila and Khādīra she should sit, after her bath and dressing, on the Kuśa grass pointed northwards with her face to the East. The husband stands behind her and touches her uncovered navel with his hand

1 गर्भोत्पत्तिर्वा, etc.

2 *Tait. Samb.*, III, 2. 3, 4.

3 *Gr̥hyakārikā*, 1, 5, p. 269f.

4 *MS. Bühler (I.O.L.)*, 4785, F. 85.

5 This rite has been described in this Manuscript, F. 19f.

6 For the significance, See p. 231 of *Gr̥hyakārikā*, 1. 4-5.

stretched over her shoulder.¹ The husband now puts into her nostril the Nyagrodha shoot which was purchased in due form and pounded beforehand by himself² or a young girl³ or a student or a wife who is keeping a vow, or a Brahmanabandhu.

According to Jaimini⁴ she mutters, after she has been offered the beans and barley together with a drop of sour milk, the prayer for having the child, female or male as desired on this occasion, and also for bringing forth together with her husband long lived children (on later occasions). Then she fastens with two threads, one white and the other red, a Nyagrodha shoot having fruits and bears it on her neck.

According to the majority of authorities, she should perform this rite in each pregnancy.⁵

1 *Gobh. GS.*, II, 2, 6; *Kbād. GS.*, II, 2, 19; cf. Mantra Brāhmaṇa, I, 4, 8.

2 Cf. *San.*, I, 20, 3; *Hir. GS.*, II, 1, 2, 6.

3 *Kbād. GS.*, II, 2, 22 mentions Brāhmaṇi instead of a Brahmanabandhu; cf. *Gobhila* II, 6, 9. Cf. *Āp. GS.*, VI, 14, 11; "A girl" only.

4 I, 5.

5 Compare the Commentators on *Pār. GS.*, I, 14; *Saṃskāra-mayūkha*, p. 20, etc.

In the 3rd or 4th month¹ or later² the Sīmantonnayana, the rite of parting the hair, is performed³ for her.

In the morning she is bathed with water mixed with all the auspicious things (Māṅgalyaḥ) and dressed excellently.⁴ According to Gobhila, she should, after her dressing, talk with a Brāhmaṇa. When the rite begins,

¹ Āgñiveśya-gr̥hya-sūtra, Trivandrum, 1940, प्रथमर्गभायाश्चतुर्थे मासि, etc.

² *Kāth. GS.*, p. 129, 3rd month; *Vār. GS.*, XVI, O, 5th, 6th or 7th; *Āśv. GS.*, *Hir. GS.*, *Bhār. GS.*, *Baudh. GS.*, and *Āp. GS.*, 4th month; *Gobh.*, *GS.*, 4th or 5th; *Drā. GS.*, (II. 24), 4th or 6th; *Pār. GS.*, 6th or 8th *Śān. GS.*, 7th; *Vaik. GS.*, 8th; *Jai. GS.*, 4th, 6th or 8th; *Mān. GS.*, 77. 1. 1. 6th or 8th; Kumārila (p. 271), 4th; *Saṃskārāpaddhati*, p. 53, any time beginning from the 4th month till the end of the pregnancy; *Vaijavāpa*, as quoted in *Sams. RM.*, p. 820, 4th, 5th or 6th; *Yajñ.*, 6th or 8th; *Atri*, 8th or 9th; *Śaṅkha*, when the foetus quivers till the birth of the child; *Bṛhaspati*, 4th, 6th or 8th (Solar month); for other Smṛti Authorities, see p. 821, *Sam. SRM.*, *Prayogaratna*, F. 68, 1. 7, 4th, 6th or 8th; *Karmakāṇḍapradīpa*, F. 67a, 1. 4. 6th or 8th. This rite, according to several Authorities, need not be performed on each occasion of her pregnancy; *Saṃskārāpaddhati*, p. 53, 1. 6-7. *Pāraskara* and his Commentators think it should be. For this difference in opinion, cf. *Saṃskāramayūkha*, p. 21.

³ Cf. *Āditya's* note on *Laugākṣi's* Text "Kārayate", *Kāth. GS.*, p. 129 f.

⁴ *Var. GS.*, p. 45, 1. 12; *Drā. GS.*, II, 25; she should be clothed by the husband. According to *Vaikhāṇasa*, she should be adorned and perfumed, p. 44, 1. II.

she, according to several schools, sits to the west of the fire with her face to the East¹; according to others,² behind the fire. According to ŚāṅGH.,³ and JaimGS.,⁴ she should keep on touching the husband while he offers the oblation along with the utterance of the Mahāvyaḥrtis.

According to the Kāṭhaka and the Varāha, the husband should first loosen all her hair and rub thereon his hands anointed with butter. Then she should part her hair with a porcupine quill having three white spots or a Sami-twigg having leaves. According to Laugākṣi,⁵ her hair should be dressed in two side-locks with a thread, partly blue and partly yellow. According to Brāhmaṇabala, the one on the right side should be dressed first. The Vārāha prescribes also the use of a woollen string for the purpose.

According to the Vaikhānasa school,⁶ the porcupine quill with three white spots together with several objects⁷ is to be placed on the parting line of the hair which is smoothed later on by the husband with the quill. Baudhāyana⁸ says after her hair has been parted, some Barley-flowers should be fastened to it. Bharadvāja⁹ also gives a similar ritual as Vaikhānasa, but adds that after

1 e. g. Agniveśya-grhya-sūtra, p. 46.

2 San. GS., ; Var. GS.: Man. GS.

3 I, 22, 3.

4 I, 7.

5 Kāth. GS., p. 132, I. 19.

6 III. 12. p. 44.

7 For these, see Text, *op. cit.*, I. 10.

8 P. 30. I. 7-8.

9 I, 21, p. 21.

the parting of her hair all the materials used for the Ritual should be placed in front of the fire, so also three rice mixed with sesamum and a water vessel. She is required to look at each of these and to answer, on the husband's question, what she sees, that she sees "Children and Cattle". One of these (three) rice should be used in feeding Brāhmaṇas, one for Brāhmaṇīs and the other she should eat together with sons or daughters as desired. Just like Baudhāyana, Āpastamba¹ also says that a few barley-shoots should be tied to her hair, but adds that she should keep silent till the stars appear and before she speaks it she should go along with her husband towards the East or North and murmur the Mahāvyaṛtis.

According to Jaimini,² she should be made to sit on an excellent seat or on a mattress of Eraka grass and her hair should be parted from the beginning of the forehead to the top of the head. Her hair should be adorned with flowers. The husband asks, after having filled a vessel with water mixed with gold dust, what she sees therein, and she answers she sees Children, Cattle, good luck for herself and long life for her husband.

Like Jaimini, Āśvalāyana also recommends that her hair should be parted just from the front, but others think that the parting should begin from the middle. Some other

1. 14, 7-8.

2. 1, 7, p. 6-7.

material than the porcupine quill¹ might also be used,² but this material, according to Sāṅkhāyana,³ should be left in her lap.

According to Pāraskara,⁴ Sāṅkhāyana⁵ and Gobhila,⁶ the husband should tie an even number of Udumbara fruits on a string and fasten it to her neck with the prayer that she might be "Fruitful". He does so before the parting; so it seems that during the parting of the hair he touches the string on her neck with the left hand while he does the parting with the right.⁷

The Mān. GS.⁸ mentions a rite to be observed in the 8th month of her pregnancy in which she should be bathed with water mixed with fruits. After she is dressed with unwashed cloth and adorned with scented flowers, the fruits should be kept hanging on her neck in the form of a necklace.

When the mother is about to be confined, ceremonies for easy delivery⁹ are performed. According to the Vaikhāṇasa school the lying—in room is to be fumigated

1 वेण्या शल्लव्या त्रिभिर्द्वर्भपुञ्जीलैश्शलालुग्लुपसेनेति, ĀpGs. 6.14.3.

2 Viratara wood,—Udumbara branch or Sami branch; cf. Pār. GS., 1, 15, 4; Gobh. GS., 2, 7, 6; Drāh. GS., II, 25; Kāth. GS., and Vār. GS., mentioned above.

3 1, 22, 9. 4 GS., 1, 15, 6. 5 GS., 1, 22, 10.

6 GS., 2, 7, 4. 7 Cf. San. GS., 1, 22, 8; Hir. GS., 2, 1, 3.

8 1, 16, p. 79; Aṣṭāvakra, 1, cf. particularly, 1, 9.

9 Cf. Devapāla and Ādityadarśana on Kāth. GS., p. 136, 3f.

before¹ she enters.² Sāṅkhāyana³ says it should be salved against demons. According to several B. YV schools, a water vessel is placed near her feet and one Turyantī-plant near her head.⁴ After her entrance into the room, Vaikhānasa says, three or four skilled women should rub her. According to the SatGS., ĀpGS., BharGS., and the PārGS., the husband should touch her on the head and sprinkle her. Hiranyakeśin says the husband should touch her belly and stroke her body from above downwards. According to the Kauśika Sūtra⁵ four muñja stalks are to be placed on her head with the points towards the East and four reed-stems with points towards the West in case any evil omen be manifest, her right hair-lock may be washed. The husband should loosen her girdle after the womb has been dissolved, says Vaikhānasa. Laugākṣi⁶ says when she is about to give birth, the husband should touch her head with his wetted hand and then proceed downwards to her heart along with the prayer for safe delivery. The

1 ĀpGs., 14.13—क्षिप्रं सुवनम् ।

2 GS., III. 14. According to the Padmapurāṇa, as quoted in the Saṃskāramayūkha, the room should be well-built, auspicious, and either East-facing or North-facing.

3 GS., I, 20, The Padmapurāṇa; while entering she should be protected on all sides.

4 Āp. GS., XIV. 14; Sat. GS., II, 2, 8; Bhār. GS., I, 22, p. 22, I. 14; Vaikh. GS., III, 14, p. 45, I. 14f.

5 33.

6 Kāth. GS., p. 136, I, 9f.

Samśkāramayūkha¹ quotes the Padmapurāṇa to show that for easy delivery some powder of the Eraṇḍa root mixed with clarified butter should be rubbed on her back. If the child does not come out a Viśalya is squeezed out on her secret parts which are also fumigated,² also the root of yellow jasmine should be placed near her feet and in her hands.

For the safe coming out of the after-birth (Jarāyu), the husband offers his prayers; in case of delay the husband is enjoined to sprinkle water on her head.⁴

If the child dies during birth, certain special rites are observed for the good of her as well as her dead child.⁵

As soon as the child is born, a fire is lit up,⁶ one of the reasons being, most probably, the smoking of the child. According to Gobhila,⁷ she should not be touched by her husband until ten nights pass.

During the Jātakarman the father bathes the child in lukewarm water and places him on her lap along with

¹ p. 22.

² For the materials used, see *Vaik. GS.*, III, 14, p. 45, 1. 11.

³ *AV.*, I, II, 4. This *AV.* hymn 1. 11, seems to be the earliest Ritual on successful child-birth.

⁴ *Āp. GS.*, XIV, 15.

⁵ *Kaus. S.*, 34, 3ff.

⁶ *San. GS.*, 1, 25, 4; *Pār. GS.*, 1. 16, 23; *Vaik. GS.*, 3, 15, 18; *Hir. GS.*, 2, 3, 4; *Āp. GS.*, 9, 3, 22; etc.

⁷ II, 7, 23.

prayers for the child's long life and immunity from diseases.¹ Then he expresses to her his wish that demons may not do any harm to the son and that she may become wealthy and live in prosperity.² According to Pāraskara,³ Vaikhānasa,⁴ Manu⁵ and Laugākṣi,⁶ before the breasts are first given to the child for sucking, they are to be washed by the father. Before washing the mother is promised Idā, daughter of Mitra and Varuṇa and a strong woman giving birth to a strong child; he prays also for more strong children. The right one is washed first and offered to the child along with the prayer for a long and joyful life for him. Similarly, the left one. The father then touches both the breasts with the wish that the child may not suffer or cry when parents touch him or speak to him.⁷ She is commended to the protection of the Water by means of placing a water-jug near her head.⁸

1 *Vaik.GS.*, III, 15, *Hir.GS.*, II, 3, 10; *Baudh.GS.*, II, 1, 9, p. 33.

2 *Hir.GS.*, II, 4, 2; *Bhār.GS.*, I, 25, p. 27, 1, 4.

3 *GS.*, I, 16, 19.

4 *GS.*, III, 15.

5 *Man.GS.*, I, 17, 7, p. 82, 1, 4-5.

6 *Kāth.GS.*, XXXIV, 5, p. 138; for Devapāla, see I, 23-24; Ādityadarśana, p. 139, 1, 6f.

7 *Pār.GS.*, I, 16, 20-21; *Āp.GS.*, XV, 5; *Hir. GS.*, 2, 4, 3-5; *Vaik.GS.*, 3, 15.

8 *Āp.GS.*, XV, 6; *Pār.GS.*, I, 16, 22; *Hir.GS.*, 11, 3.

The ceremonial observance¹ of her getting up from child-bed takes place on the 10th day² after child-birth³ when the impurity due to child-birth ceases.⁴ According to Sāṅkhāyana,⁵ the parents should wash their heads, wear new clothes, and partake of the Sthālīpāka cooked on the Sutikāgni by the father.

On the 10th day or later⁶ she participates⁷ with her husband in giving a name to her child. The name of a girl should consist of an odd number of syllables, e.g. three (MānGS. 1.18.1.) The ending should be either Dā (MānGS. 1.18.1; Gobhila, 2.8.16) or Ā (JaimGS. 1.9)

According to the DrāhGS.,⁸ the mother should, before commencement of the oblation, bathe the child, cover him with a clean garment and hand over the child with his head towards the north to the father who sits on her north on the

1 For these rites in the Āgṇiveśya GS., see pp. 48-49.

2 Āgṇiveśya, 12th day.

3 *Ap.GS.*, XV, 8; *Pār.GS.*, 1, 17, 1; *San.GS.*, 1, 25, 1; *Jaim.GS.*, 8, 1; *Vaik.GS.*, III, 18; also 12th night.

4 *Gant.DbS.*, XIV, 16; *Manu* V, 62; *Vas.DbS.*, IV, 21.

5 1, 25.

6 *Manu*: 10th or 12th; *Yāj.*: 11th; *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*: 10th, 12th or 18th; *Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa*, as quoted in *Saṃskāramayūkha*, 10th night, 100th night or a year; *Kbād.GS.*, 11, 2, 31; the same as GP: same in Gobhila; *Vār.GS.*, III, 7, p. 7: 10th night; *Man.GS.*, 1, 18, p. 83; 10th night.

7 e.g. *Varāha*: *Pitāmātā* ca.

8 11, 3, 6f.

Kuśa grass. She then walks behind him and sits by his left side. The father gives various offerings and repeats¹ the secret (Guhya) as well as public (vyavahārika) name to the mother, and gives her the child back with his head towards the north.

According to Gadādhara on the VarGS.,² the mother or both the parents should sit behind the fire with the child on her lap. They participate in giving a name. The Sūtra³ says the mother (as well as the father) should not eat meat for one year.

According to Āpastamba,⁴ Hiranyakeśin,⁵ and Bhāradvāja,⁶ the mother and the father should pronounce the names together.

If the mother sees that for some reason or other her breasts have become insufficient for the child, she observes various rites as have been prescribed in the Saṁskāraratnamālā.⁷ She also observes the rite of placing the child on the cradle (for the first time) on the 12th, 16th or 32nd day after its birth.⁸

1 Same in Gobhila GS., 2, 8, 17.

2 III, 7, p. 7, 1, 10f, Vira's Ed.

3 *op. cit.*, 7; cf. *Man GS.*, 1, 18, 7, p. 84, Baroda Ed.

4 XV, 8.

5 II, 4, 11.

6 1, 26, p. 27, l. 13-14 "Pitā mātā iti...dve nāmnī" etc.

7 p. 869.

8 *Sams.RM.*, p. 870, 1, 24ff. Some authorities think the 13th day is better for the girl; p. 871, 1, 6 and 8. Other women also join the performance of the rite, l. 10f.

The day of making the child¹ wear the first garment² is also a ceremonial occasion for her.³ On the 10th, 12th or 16th day after its birth, she has the rite of the piercing of the child's ears⁴ performed, the child remaining on her lap.⁵ When the child is two and a half months old, it is given for the first time the betel.⁶ The mother also gets similar rites performed for the child for its good and long life.⁷

According to the DrāhGs.,⁸ the mother covers the child with a garment, and standing to the south, hands over the child to the father when the rite for its first going out is being performed on the 3rd day of the 3rd Bright Fortnight after its birth. With her face turned towards

1 Not mentioned in Āgñiveśya.

2 The Āgñiveśya describes an Āyusya rite, pp. 52-53.

3 *op. cit.*, p. 872, I, 7ff.

4 *op. cit.*, p. 872, I, 26ff. Saṃskāramayūkha, p. 26. Cf. Gr̥hyapariśiṣṭa, quoted in *Sam.RM.*, 874, I, 29s. According to Viṣṇudharmottara, as quoted in *Sam.RM.*, p. 875, I, 7-8 the child remains on the lap of the mother. The left ear of the daughter should be first pierced and then left; *op. cit.*, p. 876, I, 15.

6 *Sam.RM.*, p. 876, I, II.

6 *Sam.RM.*, p. 876.

7 *Sam.RM.*, p. 877.

8 II, 3, xf; cf. *Sam.RM.*, p. 886, I, 16ff. *Baudh.GS.*, 4th month; Varāha; 10th day; Yama: 4th month; etc. For the Prayoga: *Sam.RM.*, p. 888, I 6ff. This rite is also mentioned in Baudhāyana, Pāraskara, Gobhila, Khadira as well as Kauśika sūtras. Gobhila and Khadira: third day of the third bright half after the birth of the child. They really describe the rite Candradarśana under same Niṣkramana.

the west the mother sits by the side of the father. The mother is praised and the child is given back to her. She should circumambulate the child and bring it back home. For the special kind of food she would like to offer her child for the first time, she has to make a choice. She may choose the meat of a goat, partridge, Atibird, Bharadvāja or Kṛcaka with special objects in view. If child is desired to be all-round, various kinds of flesh should be mixed up and given. Āpastamba does not allow any alternative but suggests only partridge-meat*; Jaimini and Kāthaka no flesh but any sacrificial food.

According to Gobhila and Khadira, she should wash the head of the child in the morning. In the evening the father worships the moon and the mother, dressing the child, hands it over to the father with its face towards the north. She then goes behind the father, she being on his north. The father then recites the mantras (Mantra Brāhmaṇa 1.5. 10-12) in which the Moon is praised and gives the child back to the mother. with the prayer that it may never be separated from its mother.

She observes the rite of making the child¹ first sit on the ground in its 5th month; another rite when the teeth of the child appear.²

*Cf. *Ap.GS.*, 6.16.2, तैत्तिरेण मांसेनेत्येकं ॥

1 *Samś.RM.*, p. 890, 1, 8f; p. 891, 1. "Kumārya apy evam".

2 *Vār.GS.*, p. 8, 1, 1.

She gives her child the first solid food¹ in the 5th month² or later.³ She sits to the right of the father⁴ with the child on her lap⁵. According to Sāṅkhāyana⁶ and Kauṣītaki, she should take the remnant of the food after the child is fed. After the Annaprāsana she lets the child go and touch whatever he likes; the thing he touches shows what his profession is to be.⁷

When the child is one year old or more,⁸ the rite of tonsure (Caula) is performed. She bathes the child and puts

1 Āgñiveśya GS., 2.2.4, p. 53.

2 Āgñiveśya, षष्ठे मासि

3 *Man.GS.*, 1, 20, p. 87: 5th or 6th: *Vaik.GS.*, III, 22: 6th month; Cf. the various authorities quoted in *Sams.RM.*, p. 891f. The sixth month in the opinion of the majority of Sūtra Kāras. The Kāthaka after the appearance of the teeth.

4 *Sams RM.*, p. 894, 1, 13.

5 *Op. cit.*, 1, 25; Gadādhara on *Vār.GS.*, p. 8, Vira's Ed., 1, 20.

6 1, 27, II.

7 Samskāramayūkha, p. 15; *Sams.RM.*, p. 895, 1, 5-6; Vad. on *Vār.GS.*, *op. cit.*, 1, 23-27.

8 The alternatives are: third year, first year; after the completion of 1st year. *Pār.GS.*, 2, 1, 1, one year; *Sam.GS.*, 1, 28, 1.: One year; *Vaik.GS.*, first or third; *Drāh.GS.*: 1, 28, third year; *Bhār.GS.*: 1. 28, first year; *Jaim.GS.*, 1, 11.; third year; Manu: first or third year; Yama: second or third year; *Āśv.Smr.*: Third year; Nārada: third—eleventh year; *Sam.RM.*: third—eleventh; Samskāramayūkha (p. 29) and *Sams.RM.*: (p. 897) quoted several authorities. *Baudh.GS.*, 2, 4, 1, 1st year or third year. *Man.GS.*,

on him or her an upper and under garment¹ and having the child on her lap, sits down to the west of the fire.² According to Gobhila,³ she should sit on the Darbha grass pointed northwards with her face towards the east. But Rudraskanda on Drāhyāyana⁴ says she should not sit on a seat made of Kuśa. She keeps on touching the father while he offers the Ājya oblations.⁵

According to Āśvalāyana,⁶ each time the father cuts the hair he gives it together with Sami leaves to the mother; she puts it down on the bull-dung. According to Hiranyakesi⁷ and Varāha⁸, she sits to the north of the fire, holding a lump of bull-dung in her hands, therewith she receives the cut-off hair. It is then thrown into cow-dung so that it may not get into some wicked hands. According to Kauśika, the parents offer and receive the child three times between themselves.

1, 21, 1, 3rd year *Kāt.GS.*, 40, 1, third year *ĀSVGS.* (1, 17, 1), *Vār.GS.*, 4 and *Kāt.GS.*, 40, 8; as is the custom of the family. *San.GS.* and *Kan.GS.*, (1, 28): 5th year for Kṣatriya and seventh year for Vaiśya. The AV. (VI, 21, 136, 137) has spells to make hair grow.

1 Āgñiveśya *GS.*, pp. 53-54.

2 *Āśv.GS.*, 1, 17, 2; *Pār.GS.*, 2, 1, 5.

3 II, 9, 8.

4 III, I, 17.

5 *Pār. GS.*, II, I, 6.

6 *GS.*, I, 17, II.

7 *GS.*, II, I, 6, 3-4.

8 *GS.*, IV, 16, 13, p. 10, Prof. Vira's Ed., cf. Hiran.; cf.

Sams. RM.; p. 902, 1. 29f; *Vaik. GS.*, II, 13.

The KāṭhakaGS., 40.2-5. makes it clear that the tuft of hair kept would show which family the child belongs to, thus a child of Vasiṣṭha family is required to have the lock of hair on the right side of the head, those of Vasiṣṭha and Atri families on both sides, those of Aṅgiras family five locks of hair and of the Bhṛgu family none at all.

According to VarāhaGS.¹ she should not long for any sour thing nor take any thing that excites; she should eat unsalted things silently.

If the mother is in the family way the Cudākaraṇa cannot be performed.²

The triple rites of the upanayana are: the vow of studentship, 2. learning Sāvitrī and putting a log of wood into the fire. The nāma-prccha or asking the name of the student is one of the supplementary rites. There are other minor rites which submerge in some one or other of the above three.

In connection with the upanayana* there is no reference to the father, but the girl or the boy approaches the mother

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 12, 1. 4-5.

2 *Samskāramayūkha*, p. 30; *Sams. RM.*, p. 900. 1. II. In case of the mother's pregnancy, there is a pratiprasava that the rite may be performed if the period of her pregnancy does not exceed five months; *Sams. RM. op. cit.*, 1. 14-15.

* Earliest trace of the upanayana: *RV. III. 8.4.5.*

for alms during the Bhikṣāṭana (roaming for alms.)* If she belongs to the Brāhmaṇa caste, she would be addressed as "Bhavati bhikṣām dadātu" with "Bhavati" at the beginning; if to the Kṣatriya caste, with the same in the middle; if to the third caste, with it at the end. As soon as the son has begun Brahmacharya, he comes, first of all, to the mother for blessings. This shows that the mother is the best well-wisher of the daughter or son in life, particularly, in connection with the upanayana. This is quite in keeping with the fact that the student, after his Samāvartana, is instructed by the Guru to respect his mother most.¹ Āpastamba² says that after the return from the house of the Guru the student should give whatever he may obtain to his mother. On his reaching home the student should bow down, first, to his mother, and then to the father, as the mother is a thousand times more honourable than the father.³

The mother, so far as the Marriage is concerned, helps in every way possible the daughter as well as the son.⁴ Her

* *Drāb. GS.*, II, 4, 29-30; *Śaṃskāramayūkha*, p. 60; *Viṣṇu*, XXVII, 25; *Mān. GS.*, I, 22, 20, p. 93, Bar. Ed.; *Vār. GS.*, V, 28, p. 18, Vira's Ed.; *Manu* II, 50; *Bhār. GS.* I, 10.

1 *Tait. Āraṇ.*, 7, II, 12.

2 I, 2, 15.

3 Cf. Commentator on *Gobh. GS.*, II, 4, II, p. 353, I, 16ff, "Pitres tu prathamam mātaram eva", etc.

4 *RV.*, I, 12, II; *AV.*, II, 36, etc.

choice in selecting a bridegroom is adhered to.¹ To incur the displeasure of a mother-in-law is considered most unfortunate by the son-in-law,² which shows that in matrimonial affairs the mother exercises much influence. During the wedding of the daughter the mother stands in front of the fire with some fried rice on a winnowing basket.³ Her prayers to the Fire are essential for the good of the daughter.

Thus in all the *saṃskāras* performed at various stages of the children's life, the mother seems to lead in importance. She keeps on touching the father while he offers the oblations, and that means that she is at the same time offering the oblations. So long as she is living, none of the above rites can be performed without her participation and prayers to gods for the good of the children.⁴ The principle of bowing down to the mother first on the student's return after *Samāvartana* is also uphold by the honour shown to the mother in *Aurddhadehika* rites,

So far as the *śrāddhas* are concerned, several special ceremonies are performed in honour of the mother.⁵ The

1 *RV.*, V, 61, etc., with *Bṛhaddevatā* V, 49ff.

2 *RV.*, X, 34, 3.

3 *Drāb.GS.*, I, 18.

4 *Sams.RM.*, p. 900, 1. 3f; *Samskāramayūkha*, p. 30 "Caule ca vratabandhe ca", etc.

5 It will be seen in this connection that there is not a single rite performed for the father which is not performed for the mother just the same.

Candanadhenu śrāddha, the costliest and most ceremonial of all śrāddhas, is performed for the mother only.¹ The Anvaṣṭakās are also special rites performed for her in which she receives Piṇḍas along with her mothers-in-law (the grandmother and great-grand-mother of the sacrificer). The offering of the Piṇḍa in this Mātṛśrāddha is considered so important that Kamalākara, as quoted in the Śrāddhamañjarī says even a Garbhinīpati should offer the Piṇḍa in due time and even though the father of the sacrificer be living, it should be offered.³ The Mañjarīkāra says in plain words that this rite is a very important one and should be performed even though several conditions may remain unfulfilled.⁴

According to Kātyāyana⁵ the mother should not be offered a separate Piṇḍa except on the day of her death, as her satisfaction arises from the Piṇḍa awarded to the father. This prohibition or a separate offering to the mother applies to the followers of this particular school only, and even then it is designed to emphasise the fact that the parents are one and the same, and not that the mother is excluded from the right of having Piṇḍas. The statement that the

1 For the Prayoga of the Śrāddha, see Āryānuṣṭhāna, p. 360.

2 Śrāddhamañjarī, p. 130, "Navamyām mātṛśrāddham". etc. It gives the Prayoga, too,

3 Maitrāyanīyapariśiṣṭa, as quoted in *op. cit.*

4 *op. cit.*, "Asya śrāddhasya atitaravasyam āvakaspatvēr", etc.

5 Chandogapariśiṣṭa, p. 329, v. 22, *Una.Sambh.*

satisfaction of mothers arises from the Piṇḍas awarded to the fathers shows that they also share in the Piṇḍas just as the fathers do; and it shows that the Piṇḍas are offered conjointly for the mothers also.¹ Kātyāyana does not prohibit the performance for the mother,² which means that she is a regular manē as the father is. So what Kātyāyana means is that in the Śrāddhas the parents should be considered as one and the same Devatā, and no separate Devarātva should be attributed to the father. Again, this condition would apply only to the Pārvaṇa Śrāddhas as the same Kātyāyana remarks in another place³ that no Vedic Ritual should be begun without worshipping the Manes and *even then* (Tatrāpi) the mothers should be worshipped first. In the Vṛddhiśrāddha,⁴ the rite performed for the prosperity of the child, the mother must be worshipped first of all and then the father; so also in other sacrifices.⁵

Even when the rite Ābhyudayika is celebrated on three consecutive days, the mothers are to be worshipped on the first day.⁶ Anyway, the very fact that the mother is enti-

1 See Hemādri, *Parīṣeṣa-khaṇḍa*. 2 See the previous verse.

3 *Samhitā, Una.Samb.*, p. 313, Sl. 17.

4 *Pār.GS.*, Bom. Ed., p. 509, l. 29; *Samskāramayūkha*, p. 6, see particularly Āśvalāyana quoted.

5 See Jābāli quoted by Gadādhara, *op. cit.*; *Pār.GS.*, p. 512, l. 15.

6 *Śrāddhakāśikā, Pār-GS.*, p. 512, l. 15f; cf. in this connection

tled to the Sapiṇḍikaraṇa,¹ be it with the father² or the grand-mother,³ at once shows the mother is a fullfledged Pitṛ and she has all the rights as other Pitṛs have.

The highest dignity of the mother's position is at once brought out by the fact that even her misconduct is not considered as a bar to the performance of the Aurddhvadehika rites for her—the sin being atonable by the son.⁴ The father who is expelled from the caste for his crime is to be regarded as an outcaste by the son, too, but the mother⁵ never is. Whatever be her crime the mother is the Mother for the son, and all the rites are performed for her.

That the mother is the highest Guru is also corroborated by the direct statements in the Mahābhārata⁶ and the

the fact that in the Nāndīśrāddhas, too, the mothers are worshipped first of all, Upodgnāta, p. 62, 1. 18.

1 Cf. *SānGS.*, IV.3; V. 9.

2 Yama as quoted in *Pār.GS.*, p. 499, 1. 12-13; cf. *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī*, p. 428, 1. 13-16; *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, as quoted in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*; *Laghuhārīta*, as quoted in the *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī*, p. 426, 1. 17-21.

3 *Vṛddhaśātātapa*, *Smr.Sam.*, p. 234, 1. 6, verse 41; *Pār.GS.*, p. 499, 1. 9f.

4 *Hir.GS.*, II, 4, 10, 7; *San.GS.*, III, 14, 5.

5 *Vas.Dhs.*, XIII, 47; *Bau.DhS.*, XX, 1; XXI, 15; *Āp.DhS.*, I, 10, 28, 9.

6 I, 196, 16; XII, 342, 18 and XIII, 105, 10.

Smṛti.¹ Manu² says definitely that she is a thousand times more honourable than the father.

The very fact that the mother should be worshipped at the beginning of any and every Vedic Sacrifice at once gives her the highest position as Guru.³

Thus it is seen in the pre-birth Samskāras, in the after-birth Samskāras, in the Aurdhvadehika rites, and in every other Vedic rite, that the position of the Mother is unique; she is the highest Guru and the rites performed by her and for her lead to the same conclusion.

CONCLUSION

Thus we have shown that in Rituals the Daughter holds no less important a position than the son; the Wife and the Husband hold an equally important position; and that the Mother holds a more honourable position than the father. On the whole, it can certainly be said that in no way does the Woman hold a less important position than the Man in the Vedic Ritual.

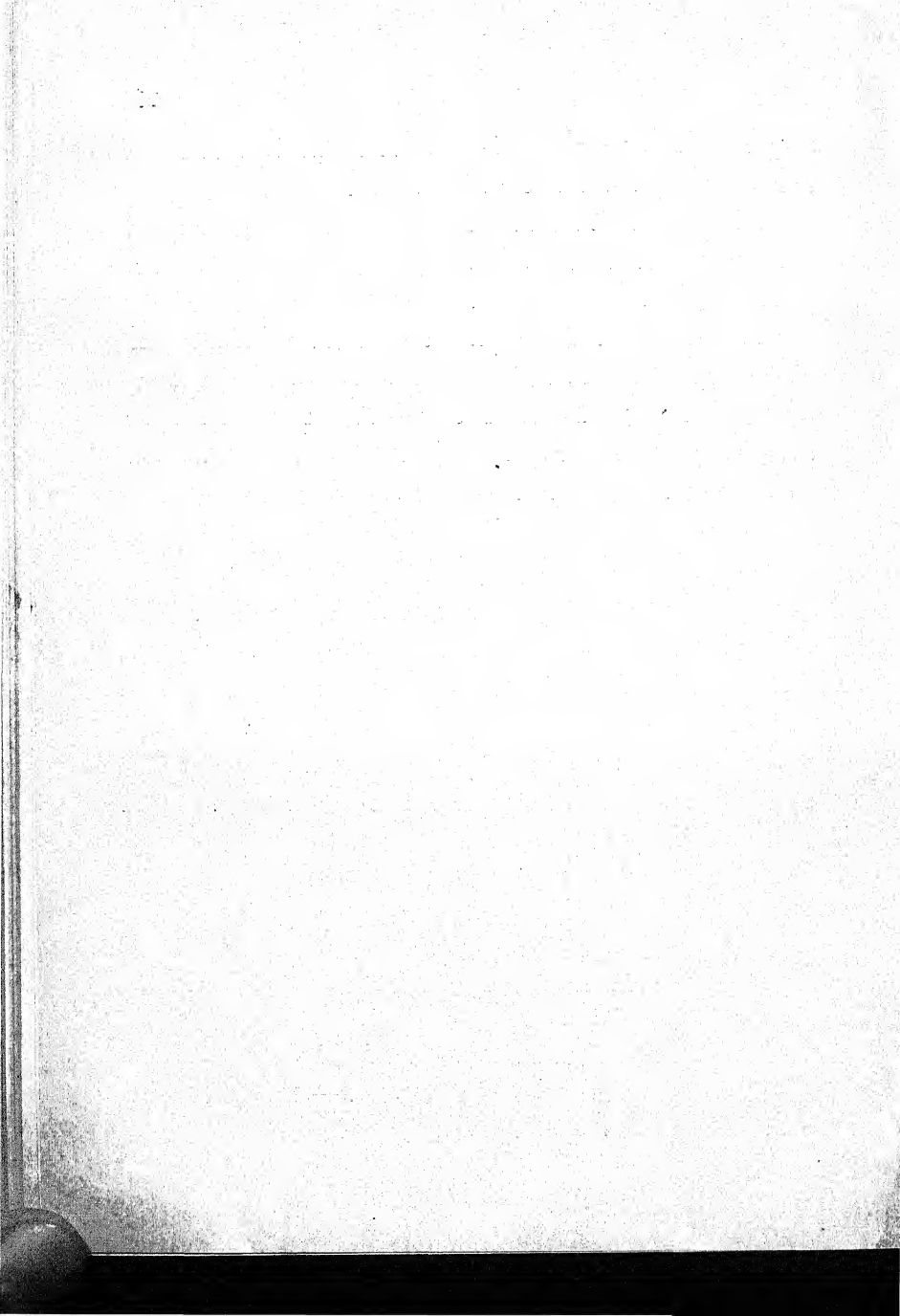
¹ *Gaut.DhS.*, II, 51, Yājñavalkya, I, 35.

² II, 145; cf. also 225-237; IV, 160; *Vaśiṣṭha*, XIII, 48, quotes the same opinion.

उपाध्यायान् दशाचार्यं आचार्याणां शतं पिता ।

सहस्रन्तु पितृन्माता गौरवेणातिरिच्यते ॥—मनुसंहिता ।

³ *Pār.GS.*, Bom. Ed., p. 512, 1, 15.



Appendix I

The Sister

In this section on the Daughter, it is only meet to say something about the woman as Sister. It is true that we do not get copious informations about the Sister from Vedic Literature, particularly from the ritualistic point of view. Still, the little that we get is sufficient to throw a flood of light upon the position of the Sister in ancient India.

In the Vedic Ritual Literature, we do not get any rite of the type of *Bhrāṭṛdviṭiṃyā* as observed in Bengal to-day (popularly known as *Bhāiphomṭā*). Even then, sweet strong relationship between the brother and the sister is manifest from the Vedic Literature. The Vedic Literature records dissensions among sisters¹ and also among brothers² but there is no such record about any dissension between a brother and a sister.

The word *Bhrāṭṛ* is derived from *Bhr̥*, to maintain and, therefore, it means the maintainer of the sister. The etymological significance of this word is amply borne out by the Vedic Literature.³ Both the *Śruti* and the *Smṛti* are unanimous that a brotherless sister must not be married.

1. AV. 2. 7. 6 2. 3. 70. 2; Sat Bra. 4. 1. 5. 3

3. AV. 1. 14. 2; VāṅSamh. 305

The Ṛgveda shows that a brotherless wife¹ was likely to return to her father's family²; moreover, a brotherless girl used to roam about in despair and was led astray.³ The AV. explicitly states that a brotherless sister is shorn of all glory and has nothing to boast of; she is simply compelled to lead a wretched life.⁴ Moreover, it warns everybody that a brotherless wife is bound to bring about disaster in the long run.⁵ On account of the sin incurred by marrying a brotherless girl, the bridegroom had to pay the father-in-law a penalty of 100 cows and a chariot.⁶ Vasiṣṭha adduces Vedic evidence regarding the undesirability of marrying a brotherless girl as she is only likely to become a substitute for son in her father's family⁷. Yājñavalkya⁸, Gautama⁹, etc. are also of the same opinion.

The Atharva-veda represents the curse of the sister as a living being¹⁰ and it was terribly dreaded by brothers¹¹.

1. अस्मात्तेव षंस एति प्रतौची, etc.

2. 1. 124. 7.

3. अस्मातरो वे योषणो व्यन्तः। The reason of their being led astray is that brotherless girls were not married.

4. अस्मातर इव जामयस्तिष्ठन्तु हतवचंसः।

5. 3. 8 अस्मादौ, इत्यादि। There was every chance of their becoming Putrikās and staying with their parents.

6. ŚānGs. 1. 14. 16 "अधिरथं शत दुहितृमते"; Nārāyaṇa-bhāṣya, दुहितृमतेऽस्मात्पुत्रमतीति अधिको रथो यस्मिन् तद् गवां शतं दद्याद् अस्मात्पुत्रमतीति विवाहदोषनाशनाथम्। Nirukta 3.5

7. 17. 16; cp. 3. 2, 8. 1. 52—53, अस्मात्पुत्रमतीति etc.

9. 1. 8. 20, Tait. 2. 5. 6. 3 10. 2. 10. 1 11. 9. 4. 15

In the Vedic Society, the Sister was considered indispensable and as a consequence, sisters were even adopted. Thus, Paṇis adopted Saramā as their sister.¹ In a list of close relations given in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, the brother and the sister are placed together which shows that no other relationship can, according to the Upaniṣad, intervene between the two.² Bhaga means the combination of wealth, prowess, fame, fortune, knowledge and renunciation of the world; the sister is bhaginī, because she is possessed of these all for the brother.

In the Vedic Literature, there is an interesting discussion about the relative importance of the wife and the sister in the family. According to some seers, the sister was the more important of the two. They advocate that in the same sacrifice, the most important of all the Vedic sacrifices, after the utterance of the Mantra known as "Agni Gṛhapati", the Mantra called "Rākā" is to be uttered and not the one entitled "Devānām patnīḥ."³ Because "Rākā" represents the sister and as in the family, the sister was more important than the wife, in the sacrifice also the same must be the case and the sister must be shown more honour than the wife. And therefore, the Rākā mantra must be uttered first

1. 10. 188. 9

2. 7. 15. 2 स यदि पितरं वा मातरं वा स्वसारं वाचायै वा, etc.

3. तदाह राकां पूर्वं शसेज् जास्यै वै पूर्वपेयमिति ।

and then the Mantra “Devānāṃ patnīḥ,” and accordingly, the drinking of the Soma juice for the sister must precede that for the wife. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, however, passes a different opinion. Though the wife comes from outside still the sister is to be dependent upon her sister-in-law.¹ “Ātmā vai jāyate putraḥ”; and the wife is the progenitor of the self in the form of children. The husband prays that he himself may be her eleventh child.² The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa decides in favour of the relative importance of the wife, no doubt; still, it cannot be doubted that the opinion of the opponent school was a formidable one and had to be dwelt upon at length in the work itself. Again, the “Rākā” Mantra must have been given precedence in those parts of the country where matriarchy was the rule.

1. तस्मात् समानोद्धार्य स्वसाऽन्योद्धार्या जायाया अतुजौविनौ भवति ।
Ait. Brā. 3. 37
2. तनयान् दश मे देहि मामेकादश कृधि ।

Appendix II

The Wife in Indian Literature

*The twin usages of polygamy¹ and polyandry have both been known in India from time immemorial in varying degrees. Brāhmaṇas have never advocated either of this—monogamy being always the ideal. The dogmatic explanations of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā,² Aitareya Brāhmaṇa³ and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁴ about a man having more than one wife and a woman having only one husband draw our attention to what prevailed in some parts of the country and not what the Brāhmaṇas recommended. The unconditional union of heart and soul—serene, soleman and sublime—of the husband and wife,⁵ the application of love-charms by the wife for having the husband as her own and other mutual solicitations for constancy in love⁶ and the aspired

*This section was published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVI, 1940, pp. 70-8.

1. RV. X, 146; AV., III, 18 (a charm for having predominance over a rival co-wife); Ait. Br. VII, 13 (100 wives); Sat. Br. IV, 1. 5. 1 ff. and Jai. Br. III, 121 ff.; Sapatnī in St. Petersburg Dict.; Pār. GS., I, 4, 6-10 and corresponding passages in other Gṛhya and Dharma Sūtras. 2. VI, 6, 4, 3. 3. III, 23; III, 47.
4. IX, 4, 1, 6. 5. प्राणैस्त्वि प्राणान् संदधान्यस्त्रिभिरस्थौनि मांसैर्मांसानि लब्ध्वा लवमिति (Mantra used in the Caturthikarma) Pār. GS. III, 6. 6. AV., II, 30, 2, 5; 36, 4; etc.

“Cākṛavākam saṁvnananam” mentioned by the Gr̥hyasūtras in connection with the marriage,¹ Caturthīkarma² and the Garbhādhāna³ cannot but lead to the conclusion that monogamy is the ideal of the society. The Vedic Literature depicts the wife in the loveliest colour⁴ and this is possible in a society where monogamy is the rule. She is the absolute Master of the household; as a matter of fact, she is the house.⁵

The incorporation of many non-Aryan women in the Aryan fold in some form or other brought about a social revulsion. In later ages all the three higher castes were allowed to marry Śūdrās and the Aryans themselves could marry from castes lower to themselves, i.e. a Brāhmaṇa could marry a Kṣatriyā as well as a Vaiśyā in addition to a Brāhmaṇī and so on. The extensive performance of rituals in which a large number of women including the sacrificer's daughter, not to speak of Dāsīs, was given as

1. E. g. Baudh. GS., I, 4, 5, p. 13, II. 19-20 चक्रवाकं संवननं यत्रदीभ्य उदाहृतम् ॥ यद्विचौ देवगन्धर्वौ तेन संवनिनौ स्त्रः ॥

2. E. g. Hir.GS. I, 246; p. 49, I, 11-12.

3. Hir.GS., I, 25, p. 57. I. 17. Also see AV. XIV, 2, 64.

4. RV. X. 85. 46. सभाज्ञौ शशुरे भव सभाज्ञौ शश्वं भव । ननान्दरि सभाज्ञौ भव सभाज्ञौ अविदेवु ॥ All the verses of X. 85 bear testimony to this.

5. RV. III. 53. 4. “जायेदस्म” etc. Sāyaṇa: “अस्मत् । अस्मन्ते क्षिप्सन्ते पदार्था इत्यस्मत् गृहम् । जायेत् जायेद गृहं भवति ‘न गृहं गृहमित्याहुर्गृहिणी गृहमुच्यते’ इति स्मृतः ।

sacrificial gift, encouraged polygamy which degraded Indian women to the lowest abyss.

The Supreme Soul created the first woman for love. As He found no delight without her, He divided Himself into two equal halves; as husband and wife they became one and complete again and again.¹ From the beginning the wife is thus the equal half of her husband. The husband hands over the dust of the foot-print of the cow to the wife for the increase of her wealth as she is the half of his self.² In the Vājapeya sacrifice he wants her to accompany him in mounting the post for Heaven for the same reason.³ Yājñavalkya says, the wife and the husband are each like half a shell.⁴ She completes him.⁵ They are one body.⁶ In the Vedas, the Smṛti and the popular usage she is declared to be the equal half of her husband, sharing equally the religious merit or demerit.⁷ The half of the body of her husband falls if she takes spirituous liquor.⁸ The woman as wife protects the society from chaotic conditions.⁹ The wife

1. Brh. Upan. 1. 4. 3. Cp. 17. 2. Tait Saṃh., vi. 1. 8. 5. p. 148, Vol. 2, Weber. 3. Śat. Brāh., V. 2. 1. 10. p. 434, Weber's ed. cp. also viii 7. 2. 5. 4. Brh. Upan. 1. 3. 4.

5. Op. cit., 1. 4. 17. Ait. Āraṇ., 1. 3. 4.

6. Manu., iv, 184, ix, 45. 7. Brh., XXV, 46. Cp. the following verses; also XXIX. II.

8. Vaś. DhS., XXI, 16. p. 222, 1. 2. (ASS) पतत्वधः शरीरस्य यस्य भार्या सुरां पिबेत् 9. MBh. 1. 128; cp. also to 76. 28.

makes the husband holy.¹ She opens the gateway to truth for her husband.² The wife is the home³ and as such, she protects all the four stages of life by her munificence and gracious help.

It is no wonder then that the wife and the husband, from birth to birth, are reborn in the same *yoni* be it human or some other. The Śruti says when the female half of Prajāpati became a cow, the male half became a bull; when the former became a mare, the latter became a stallion; when the former a she-ass, the latter a he-ass.⁴ As they are two equal halves, in some births the wife becomes the husband and in some others the husband becomes the wife. He who performs the cremation of his wife with the Agnihotra becomes the wife and his wife becomes the husband in the following birth; if a respectable wife dies before the husband as a consequence of the insults done her by the latter, she becomes the husband and he the wife for three lives to follow.⁵ King Purañjana was capable of transforming himself into Vaidarbhī by virtue of his deep devotion to his wife.⁶ The view of the wife and the husband being one person and

1. Tait Brāh. 2. 2. 2. 6, अयन्नियो वा एष योऽपन्नौकः ।

3. RV. X. 85. 24, वस्य योनौ सुकृतस्य लोके ।

4. Brh. Upan., I. 4. 4, सा गौरभवद्वृषभ इतरः, etc.

5. Gobh. Smṛ., III, 13, मान्या चेन्म्रियते पूर्व भार्या पतिविमानिता ।
तौषि जन्मानि सा पुंस्त्वं पुंस्त्वः स्त्रीत्वमर्हति ॥

6. Bha. Pur., iv. 26. 22.

two equal halves with equal rights is also upheld by the principles laid in the Śrāddha ceremonies, particularly, the Sapindīkaraṇa.

As against the above passages, Aitiśāyana¹ goes so far as to say that the woman, far from having equal right with man, has no right (Adhikāra)² at all to sacrifices. He says, the word स्वर्ग-कामः in the श्रुति text दर्श-पूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्ग-कामो यजेत refers to a man only; the woman is, therefore, excluded. Moreover, the wife is "nirdhanā—without any property;" so she cannot have any right over the sacrificial staff required for the proper performance of the sacrifice. The wife is herself a property as she is sold by the father and purchased by her husband. Whatever she may earn by means of spinning, etc., belongs to her husband; as she is dependent, she cannot independently work for herself and acquire property thereby. A property cannot be said to have possession of other property; so as she has no possession over the sacrificial materials, viz., the wheat, the rice, etc., she cannot have any right to offer sacrifices.

But this view is not tenable, as the masculine gender in स्वर्ग-काम is not, however, intended to designate males only,

1. Jaim. NMV. on Jaim. NM., 6. 1. 6. p. 303, ASS. Vol. 24; Poona, 1823. Cp. Jaim. NMV. (iv. 1. 3) of Mādhavācārya, ed by Goldstuecker and Cowell, London (Truebner & Co.), 1886, p. 252. Jaimini, लिङ्गविशेषनिर्देशात् पुंयुक्तमैतिशायनः ।

2. तत्र दर्श-पूर्णमासादौ यागनिष्यादकलं कर्तुं त्वम् । फलभोक्तृतया स्वामित्वमधिकारः—Mādhavācārya,

the class Man being indicated. It means “यः स्वर्गकामः स यजेत —one who aspires to Heaven should sacrifice.” As a woman certainly longs for heaven, she is also entitled to offer the sacrifice.¹

According to Jaimini, the wife cannot be said to have any claims to property; she does not possess riches, as she does not want to; but whenever necessary, she may justly claim her share in the property—फलोत्साहाविशेषात्।² When she is married, she is assured that she will never be deprived of her common rights to Religion, Wealth and Love. According to Yājñikadeva, she has certainly the right of possession over the property acquired by means of her personal labour and that awarded by her father, brother, etc.; and the property earned by her husband is the common property of the wife also.

It is not right that the wife is sold and purchased like a chattel. The selling of a daughter is severely condemned in Brahmanic Literature. The passages, *viz.* दुहितृमते दद्यात्,³ आर्षं गोमिथुनम्⁴ etc., which Aitirāyana seems to refer

1. Cf. Jaimini 6-1-7, Nyāyamālā on Jaim. 6-1-6 ff. अस्ति स्त्रियाः कर्माधिकारः । कुतः—उंलिङ्गस्याविचित्तत्वात् ।.....तस्मात्लिङ्गस्य प्रकृत्य-
त्वाभावादुद्देश्यगतत्वेनाविचित्तत्वाच्च स्त्रिया अर्थधिकारः ॥” See pp. 304-305
and ed. Ānandāśrama ed., 1916. See also Mimāṃsā-darśana,
Ānandāśrama ed., 1932, p. 1357 f. 2. Jaimini 6, 1, 13; see
also Mimāṃsā-darśana, op. cit., p. 1360. 3. SāṅkSS. 1, 14, 16.
4. VasDhS. 1, 32. Cf. ĀśvSS, 1, 6, 1. Baudh. DhS. 1, 20, 4,
etc.

to, do not refer to the selling of the daughter or the purchase of the wife. The price of objects for sale always varies; it can never be permanently fixed, but in the passages mentioned above the price, if it be price at all, is always the same, be the girl qualified or not, beautiful or ugly. As regards the first passage, Gārgya Nārāyaṇa says the direction would apply only in those cases where the girl has no brother. The second passage refers to a particular kind of marriage and can therefore never be a general rule. And so on. There are direct statements in scriptures regarding the possession of the wife over property.¹

By means of love she offers the sacrifice; she has her prowess in Love; by means of Love she takes possession of the wealth in her husband's house.

Kātyāyana² also says, स्त्री चाविशेषात् i.e. the woman also has the right to sacrifice because there is no particularisation. Karkācārya,³ commenting upon the सूत्र, says स्वर्गकामः in स्वर्गकामो यजेत is an uddiśyamāna viśeṣaṇa; and because of viddhisamsparsābhāva, the number and gender are not significant (avivakṣita).⁴ Yājñikadeva⁵ also argues in the same way as Karka and comes to the same conclusion viz., the

1. Compare the Commentaries on KātSS. 1. 1. 7. For DhS. ĀpDhS. 11. 14. 9; Gau DhS 18, 21. etc. 2. Śrauta-sūtra, 1. 1. 7. 5. 3. See p. 5, Chowkhamba edition.

4. For the vivakṣā in the number and the gender, compare the dictum "Paśum ālabheta." 5. P. 8, Weber's edition of KātSS.

woman has every right to perform sacrifices. He gives an alternative explanation to say that अविशेषात् in Kātyāyana's सूत्र may mean स्वर्गकामत्वाविशेषात् as there is no difference in longing for heaven, i.e., as both of them equally desire for heaven."¹ The conclusion is that the woman is also entitled to perform sacrifices.

The right of the wife to offer sacrifices for the acquirement of religious merit is also established by scriptures. "(He) initiates the sacrificer with the girdle (mekhalā), the wife with the tie of the yoke of a plough,² "the wife in the iron,"³ "the wife in the Gārhapatya silently"⁴ etc., show what particular rites the wife has to observe and with what ends.

The wife is entitled to offer sacrifices, but can she offer them in her exclusive personal rights? A woman is entitled to perform sacrifices alone so long as she is alone. Thus, a maiden walks round the sacred fire in the Sākamedha for having a suitable husband. When the Phālguna Full-moon enters Uttaraphālgunī, she offers a furnished bed to a Brāhmaṇa for having a suitable husband.⁵ In the Horse-

1. Compare in this connection Jaimini's Sūtra फलान्त्साहाविशेषात् ।

2. See sections on the Dikṣā. Tait Samh. 6. 1. 3 मेखलया यजमानं दौक्षयति, योक्त्रेण पत्नीम् । See also KātSS. 1. 1. 8—दृशनात् ॥

3. Patnī Lohe—KātSS. 7. 4. 34. 4. Patnī ca Gārhapatyē tuṣṇim, op. cit., 5. 5. 36. See also 2 7. 4.

5. Viṣṇu, XC. 7-8, Unav. Samh., p. 110.

sacrifice she puts pearls into the manes of the horse.¹ Yearning for Nārāyaṇa, Vedavatī devotes herself to dreadful ascetic vows and in her later birth nets him.² Satī, daughter of Dakṣa, undergoes penances for Śiva, goes to Himavat-pura and advises Haimavatī to worship Śiva.³ Rukmīṇī worships Umā in her maidenhood; Kṛṣṇa abducts her while she is returning from her place of worship.⁴ A widow can also perform some rites as we have shown in our section on the widow.

The brahmavādinīs who do not even marry for observing religious practices are certainly entitled to offer sacrifices.⁵

The wife is not, however, entitled to do so. The wife and the husband are mutually dependent in sacrificial matters; in the same rite the husband is to perform some part, the wife the corresponding counterpart. Thus, in the Darśapūrṇamāsa while she looks at the sacrificial ghee, he is to bind together kuśa grasses. Now, if the wife or the husband intends to celebrate the sacrifice individually, the sacrifice cannot be properly performed as the absence of

1. SatŚS Vol. V. p. 238, 1. 1-2. Cf. ĀpŚS, XX. 15. Vol. III. p. 159. 2. Rāmāyaṇa 7th Book (Uttarakāṇḍa), 17th Sarga.

3. The Pauranic legend, as given in Kāl P. 1. 8. Cp. Mahāśvetā etc. practising austere penances. 4. The famous story of the Har V. 5. Saṃs-RM. Vol. I, p. 166, 1. 6. Cp. the appellations Kathis, Bahvṛcis, etc. referred to above.

either of them would involve in the sacrifice an improper procedure. Neither the wife nor the husband should try to have the other's part of the sacrifice performed by selecting a substitute. The performer of the sacrifice reserves this power of selection; he may select a Hotṛ, Udgātṛ, Brahmā, Adhvaryu or any other person in connection with the sacrifice. But no selection in the case of the wife and the husband is possible. The husband is to be the Yajñāsvāmin while his wife the Yajñāsvāminī. The dictum स्वर्गकामो यजेत also shows that the wife and the husband are to offer together. By saying अग्नीषोमौ देवता it is meant that both Agni and Soma are to be worshipped but as their attribute godliness "Devatātvā" is common, "Devatā" is purposely kept in the singular; similarly by saying स्वर्गकामो यजेत, it is meant that both the wife and the husband are to offer the sacrifice together as they have a common right. Again at the time of their marriage, their common possession of property is declared. The expenses to be incurred in the sacrifice must be borne by both of them. In no circumstances is the husband or the wife entitled to divide property; so no occasion for celebrating a sacrifice separately should really arise. The scriptures directly declare that the wife should not be deprived of her rights regarding Religion, Wealth and Love.

The Scriptures furnish us copious evidence regarding the joint sacrifice of the husband and the wife. They perform sacrifices together and pray to their gods so that they

may, with their daughters and sons by their side, reach the full extent of life.¹ They with one heart and soul offer oblation to and worship their beneficent god Agni.² They with uplifted ladle serve together their God Indra and the latter in his turn profusely blesses them.³ They together pour their presents to Indra in order to win a stall of kine.⁴ They with their hearts knitted together with the thread of love wax old in their devotion to seek Agni.⁵ They of one accord press out and wash the Soma juice and invoke their god to approach them.⁶

The Sāmpatnīya prayer declares that the wife and the husband acquire religious merit in common and enjoy together undecaying light in heaven.⁷ Kātyāyana⁸ also recognises their common acquirement of religious merit when he says, अनुचरीर्वा फलाधिकारात् or only the attendants (are to be

*See also Manu 5, 53, नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथग्यज्ञो न व्रतं नाप्युपोषणं See Pāṇini 4. 1. 133 "पत्न्यो यज्ञसंयोगे". KātSS. Sūtra 103 Chow.ed., p. 47. Not to speak of the life-time of the wife, even after her death the widower cannot appoint a substitute for her; for detailed information: Kārka's commentary on the above.

1. RV. VIII. 31, 8. 2. RV. I, 72, 5. 3. RV. I, 83, 3.
4. RV. I, 131, 3. 5. RV. V, 43, 15. 6. RV. VIII, 31.
7. Mait Samh., 1. 4. 3 (p. 51, 4). Cp. 1. 4. 8 (p. 56, 10).
Kath Samh., 5. 4 (p. 46). Tait. Brah., 3. 7. 5. 11. ApSS., 1. 3. 5.
5. 7. 8. KātSS. 20. 8. 24: उद्वसानौयान्ते भावौ ददाति । 20. 8. 26:
कुमारीं पालागलौघाध्वयैवे । 20. 8. 26: चतुरीर्वा अफलाधिकारादितरायाम् ।
20. 8. 27: अनारभ्यत्वाच्च ।

awarded as sacrificial fee in the Aśvamedha sacrifice after Udavasānīya) as others (i.e., wives and the maiden daughter) obtain religious merit. Karka says that the wife cannot give the husband as sacrificial fee; so the sacrificer also cannot give his wife away: their possession, gift and acquirement of merit are in common and nobody is entitled to give the other away as sacrificial fee.

When the match-makers come in to select a girl, they say expressly that the hand of the girl is sought by them for such and such of such and such family in order that he may have children by her and offer sacrifices with her.¹ The Vedas, as cited by Manu, declared that the religious rites are to be performed by the husband together with the wife.² In commenting upon the Prājāpatya form of marriage which ordains that the husband and the wife are to perform religious duties together³, Haradatta commenting on AsvGS.⁴ points out that in all other forms of marriage too such duties are to be performed together, but here the emphasis lies on the fact that those who are married according to the Prājāpatya form are to lead household life up to

1. Winternitz, Altindische Hochzeitsrituell, p. 40.

2. IX. 36. Baudh. DhS. 1. 7. 15. 10 and Govinda's commentary.

3. Cf. Gau. DhS. IV. 7. Nar. DhS. XII. 40. Man. DhS., III.

30. Yajn., I, 60. In connection with Brahma form, Ap. DhS.

11. 11. 17. 4. Trivandrum ed., p. 21, sūtra 15.

the end of their life.¹ In enumerating the forty sacraments, Gautama² uses the following words instead of the word Vivāha or any of its synonyms—"The taking of a help-mate for the fulfilment of the religious duties." The word "Sahadharminī" is extremely significant in this connection.

Viṣṇu³ says the wife should observe the same vows as her husband. Manu,⁴ Viṣṇu,⁵ and the Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa⁶ have the same couplet saying that the wife should not perform sacrifices, observe vows and fast separately. They⁷ think her highest duty is to act according to his directions and should not, therefore, observe vows, etc. (against his will).

Similarly, the husband too cannot perform any sacrifices or observe vows without the wife. In all the religious observances the wife sits on the right of her husband except in the consecration (abhiṣeka) and the washing of Brāhmaṇa's feet in which she remains on the left—says

1. यद्यथान्वेष्ट्यपि विवाहेषु सहधर्मचरणमस्ति तथाप्यत्र यावज्जीवनं सहधर्मचरणमेव न सध्वे आश्रमान्तप्राप्तिरिति विशेषः ॥ 2. DhS. VIII. 16.

3. Ch. XXV. 2. Unav. Samh. p. 63. Vyāsa, Ch. III, "Samānavratavṛttih" 4. v. 66. (Nir. Ed., p. 203, 1. 30—31),

5. Ch. XXV, 15. UnavSamh., p. 66. 10.

6. Bṛhad DhP. p. 317. 81. 1. 7. Viṣṇu, op. cit., sl. 16.

Cf.: Brahma V. P. Śrīkṛṣṇajanmakhaṇḍa, M. Tarkaratna's ed., p. 153. 1. 6-7. Attri. sl. 137, Smr. Samu., p. 15. 1. 5-6.

Bhaṭṭa Gopīnātha¹. Kātyāyana² says both the husband and the wife should sit on the west of the fire, the wife being on the right of the husband. According to Attri³ also the wife should be on the right of the husband in Śrāddhas, sacrifices and marriage. Vṛddhahārīta⁴ says the wife is the mantra; so it is certain that as without the mantra, so without the wife the sacrifice cannot be performed. Even after her death the husband is required to make an image of her with kuśa grasses in order that he may offer in the fire raised from the previous fire with which she was cremated, the Agnihotra and Pañcayajñas as before.⁵ Sāyaṇa in his Commentary on Ait. Brā. interprets the passage recommending the performance of Agnihotra by a widower⁶ in the above light and refers to the rule of three debts. Kātyāyana⁷ refers to the substitution of the golden image of Sītā by Rāma for his exiled wife and makes the rule that a widower should have his wife's substitute in order that he may perform the Vedic sacrifices. So, alive or dead, the wife is always with her husband during the performance of their sacrifices.

1. Upod., p. 40, 1. 48; also p. 64, 1. 1. 1-2 see also his SamsRM., p. 13, 1. 1. 1-2. 2. Śrautasūtra, 193.

3. Sl. 138 Smr., Sam., p. 15, 1. 8.

4. Smr. Sam., p. 325. sl. 15; मन्त्राः पत्नीः प्रकौर्तिताः ॥

5. Vṛddhahārīta XI, 113-115. Smr. Sam., p. 349. Otherwise the husband is to become a monk or to marry again.

6. VII, 9. Kaus-Br., XXXII. 8. 7. ChandP. III, 9.

The Padmapurāṇa⁸ says the sacrifices of a person having no wife are useless. The wife is the highest religion and in the three worlds there is no other Dharma like her for the husband. Kṛkālā, otherwise an ideal religious Personality, is abused by Dharma (Religion personified) as narādhama (worst among men) and caura (thief) because he was not accompanied by his wife Sukalā during the Śrāddha offered by him to his parents. The wife is the head of domestic religion. Without her there can be no religion at all.

8. Bhūmikhaṇḍa, p. 221, l. 11 f; pp. 243-244 of the ĀSS. ed.
 नास्ति भार्यासमं तीर्थं धर्मसाधनहेतवे । शृणुष्व त्वं गृहस्थस्य नात्यो धर्मो
 जगत्त्रये ॥ यत्र भार्या गृहं तत्र पुरुषस्यापि नान्यथा । ग्रामे वाप्यथवापुरष्ये
 सर्वधर्मस्य साधनम् ॥ नास्ति भार्यासमं तीर्थं नास्ति भार्यासमं सुखम् । नास्ति
 भार्यासमं पुरुषं तारणाय हिताय च ॥ गृहस्थस्य च धर्मस्य भार्या भवति
 स्वामिनौ । तस्माद्भार्यां विना धर्मः पुरुषस्य न सिध्यति ॥

Appendix C

Additional Note on the Chief Wife

If the fire goes out, it is the first wife who is to rekindle it. She should on the preceding day take her food in the day time,¹ observe brahmacarya and silence, wear silken garments² and towards sunset enter the Gārhapatya house from the south and seat herself to the right of her husband, both facing the east. At the beginning of the sacrifice, when the Adhvaryu offers both the Araṇis to the sacrificer, he places the upper one on his own lap and hands over the lower one to her which she similarly places on her own lap.³ During the night she keeps awake with her husband to keep up the fires.⁴

If a co-wife is left at home, the wife may leave the fires in charge of her, but that would mean that the co-wife would be simply a representative of the wife and nothing more than that. Certainly the wife should take away the fires with her⁵ if it is not simply impossible for her to do so.

1. Śat. Br., II, 1, 4, 1. 2. Sat. ŚS, vol. II, p. 528, I, 27.

3. Kat. ŚS., Chow. Ed., p. 298 Sūtras 307-308; Sat ŚS., vol. II, p. 535, I 5. 4. Śat. Br. II, I, 4, 7.

5. Sat. ŚS., vol. I, p. 358, 1. 11, ff.; note particularly the remark of the Scholiast "Bahubhāryasya ekayā saha bhāve'pi na doṣaḥ"; also vol. II, p. 544 "Bahubhāryasya ekasyā api sannidhau na doṣaḥ". The words "na doṣaḥ" in these texts cannot mean otherwise than this, that the (first) wife is the proper person to attend, but in her absence, some other wife might be allowed to do so (but never a Śūdrā wife), and thus be a representative for her.

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- (2) Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.
- (3) Gautama Dharma Sūtra.
- (4) Vāśiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra.

(b) For Gr̥hyas, see

- (1) Āpastamba Gr̥hya Sūtra.
- (2) Āśvalāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra.
- (3) Baudhāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra.
- (4) Bhāradvāja Gr̥hya Sūtra.
- (5) Drāhyāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra (same as Khādira Gr̥hya Sūtra).

Sūtras: — Contd.

- (6) Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra.
 - (7) Hiranyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra (same as Satyāṣādha Gṛhya Sūtra).
 - (8) Jaiminiya Gṛhya Sūtra.
 - (9) Kāṭhaka Gṛhya Sūtra.
 - (10) Kauśika Sūtra.
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 - (12) Khādira Gṛhya Sūtra (same as Drāhyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra).
 - (13) Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra.
 - (14) Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra.
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- (c) For Śrauta^o, see
- (1) Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra.
 - (2) Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
 - (3) Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

AitAran.	= Aitareya Āraṇyaka.
AitBrah.	= Aitareys Brāhmaṇa.
Ap. DhS.	= Āpastamba-Dharma Sūtra.
ApGS.	= Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra.
ApGS.	= Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra.
AsvGK.	= Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Karika.
AsvGP.	= Asvalayana Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa.
AsvGS.	= Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.
AsvSS.	= Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Asv. Yaj. Pad.	= Āśvalāyana Yājñika Paddhati.
Atri.	= Atri Saṃhitā.
AV.	= Atharvaveda.
B.PV.	= Black Yajurveda.
Baudh. DhS.	= Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.
BaudhGS.	= Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.
BaudhSS.	= Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
BhagPur.	= Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
BharGS.	= Bhāradvāja Gṛhya Sūtra.
Bib. Ind.	= Bibliotheca Indica.
Brh.	= Brhaspati Smṛti
BrhUpan.	= Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
DhS.	= Dharma Sūtra
DrahGS.	= Drāhyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.
GautDhS.	= Gautama Dharma Sūtra.
GobhGS.	= Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra.
GobhSmr.	= Gobhila Smṛti
GS.	= Gṛhya Sūtra

HiranGS.	= Hiranyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra.
Ind. St.	= Indische Studien.
J.A.O.S.	= Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JaimBrah.	= Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.
JaimGS.	= Jaiminīya Gṛhya Sūtra
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KathSamh.	= Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā.
KatSS.	= Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
KausBrah.	= Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa
KausS.	= Kauśika Sūtra.
KausUpan.	= Kauśītaki Upaniṣad
KhaGS.	= Khādīra Gṛhya Sūtra
LatySS.	= Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
MaitSamh.	= Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.
ManDhS,	= Mānava Dharma Śāstra.
ManGS.	= Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra.
ManSS.	= Mānava Śrauta Sūtra.
NarDhS.	= Nārada Dharma Śāstra.
PancBrah.	= Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa.
ParGS.	= Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra.
RV.	= Ṛgveda.
SmsRM.	= Saṃskāraratnamālā
SankAran.	= Śaṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka.

SankGS.	= Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.
SankSS.	= Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
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S.B.E.	= Sacred Books of the East.
SamrSam.	= Smṛtīnām Samuccayah.
St.Pt.Dict	= St, Petersburg Dictionary.
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Yajn.	= Yājñavalkya-Smṛti
YV.	= Yajur Veda
Z. D. M. G.	= Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenland. Gesellschaft.
Zim. Alt. Leben.	Zimmer; Altindisches Leben.

GENERAL INDEX

The Arabic figures here refer to pages of this work. No attempt has been made in this Index to record the references to original Sanskrit works that were found too numerous to be included here. Only a few works or authors that have been casually referred to have, however, been included here.

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Correction

P. 32, l. 13 For Gārgi, read Kātyāyani

P. 55 read ' after Mahābhāṣya in l. 10 and not after cost in l. 9.

P. 131, l. 8 read *before* the former in their turn, etc. and after the son of ten fathers :—

Vāli and Sugriva were born of two husbands living at the same time (Rāmāyaṇa, vii. 42).

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